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THE

WILTSHIRE

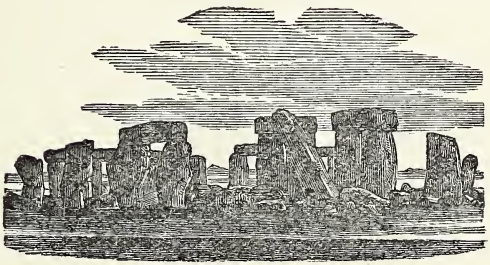
Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY A.D. 1853.

VOL. XV.



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H. F. & E. Bull, 4, Saint John Street.

1875.

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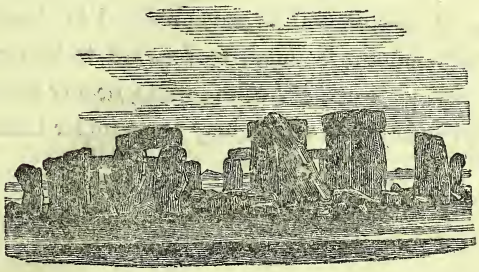

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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year,* are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine, will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions: and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and Mr. Wm. Cunnington, Argyll House, 361, Cold-Harbour Lane, Brixton, London, S.W.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

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COL. JOHN PENRUDDOCK.

FROM A PORTRAIT BY DOBSON IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES PENRUDDOCKE ESQR COMPTON PARK WILTS

THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Records of the Rising in the West,

JOHN PENRUDDOCK, HUGH GROVE, ET SOCII.

(Concluded from Vol. xiv., *Page* 67.*)*

AS the trooper, who bore the death warrant, journied westward, the news that the time for reprieve was past, spread without Whitehall Palace.

We can well imagine that Mrs. Penruddock, who heard it the same day, immediately made one more effort to save her husband, and that it was then probably that she was "turned out of doors, because she came to beg mercy."

Returning to her lodgings after a long and weary day of fruitless toil, she wrote words of exquisite solace to her unfortunate husband:

"My dear heart,

My sad parting was so far from making me to forget you, that I have scarce thought upon myself since, but wholly upon you. Those dear embraces which I yet feel, and shall never lose (being the faithful testimonies of an indulgent husband) have charmed my soul to such a reverence of your remembrances, that were it possible, I would with my own blood cement your dead limbs to life again, and with reverence think it no sin to rob heaven a little longer of a martyr. Oh my dear! you must now pardon my passion, tho' being the last (oh fatal word!) that ever you will receive from me; and know that until the last minute * that I can imagine you shall live, I will sacrifice the prayers of a Christian, and the groans of an affected [afflicted?] wife; and when you are not, which sure by sympathy I shall know,† I shall wish my own dissolution with you, that so we may go hand in hand to heaven. It is too late to tell you what I have, or rather have not, done for you. How turned out of doors, because I came to beg mercy! The Lord lay not your blood to their charge. I would fain discourse longer with you, but dare not, my passion begins to drown my reason, and will rob me of my devoir, which is all I have left to serve you.

* "Minute" written twice, once erased.

† The stronger word "know" substituted for "feel."

Adieu therefore ten thousand times my dearest dear, and since I must never see you more, take this prayer * 'May your faith be so strengthened, that your constancy may continue, and then I hope heaven will receive you, where grief and love will in a short time after, I hope, translate, my dear, your sad but constant wife, even to love your ashes when dead.'

Your children beg your blessing and present their duties to you."† A. Penruddock.

This is indeed a noble epistle! abounding in charm of style, and beauty of thought. Here is refinement mixed with Christian love. Is it not the mirror of their wedded lives? We may see reflected there the affection and faith of both growing through time to eternity, and feel certain she would have pledged her own existence for his. She did not lose "her devoir." What a comfort must this letter have been to the dying man! "The sweetest thought the last;" there were George, Tom, and Jane to rally round her in the hour of trial.

The effort of writing no doubt was great. Her frame enfeebled by long and heavy anxieties, fatiguing journies, and night watches. We see her struggling on amidst prayers and tears, her grief at times almost overwhelming her, but perchance she gained strength as she wrote, feeling that despatch was necessary, for she did not know how soon her husdand might be summoned to execution, and that he should die without receiving it, was terrible to contemplate.

"Haste, post haste, must you gallop, good and faithful friend! Speed thee to catch up His Highness's messenger!" But time was found

---

* Words "with you" erased after "prayer."

† The *fac-simile* which will be found opposite this page, contains in addition the words "Eleven o'clock at night—May 3rd," which are not at present on the original, but only on the sheet of paper on which it is preserved. Mr. Charles Penruddock, the present owner of Compton, believes he has seen them on it. That there has been a small piece most unluckily shorn off the foot of this highly-interesting document is clear from its appearance, some word or words having been cut through, and thus become indecipherable.

The pamphlet of July 2nd, 1655 (King's Pamplets, Sm. Qto., Vol. 652—"*Illegal Proceedings*"), which has often been mentioned, contains both sentences; and is followed by Sir Richard Steele. It would therefore appear that the date of the foot of the letter, as given by Sir Richard Hoare (Hund. Dunw., p. 85), viz., "May 15th," is incorrect. The latter appears never to have seen Mrs. Penruddock's original letter. That it could have been written and sent from London, at midnight on the 15th of May, and reach Exeter on the morning of the 16th, in time for Colonel Penruddock to have answered it, is impossible. If it were written on that day it must have been written at Exeter, but this I do not believe. The compiler of the pamphlet must have known the facts and could have no reason for giving the date as the 3rd if it were not so. Moreover the pamphlet gives the answer of Colonel Penruddock as dated "May 6th." Sir Richard Hoare said he took the letters from "The Lover," but that, as has been already mentioned, gives the date as the 3rd of May. See "The Lover," p. 20, Harrison's Brit. Classics, vol. 6.

*Mr. Rolles—Lord Chief Justice Rolles, no doubt.

My Deare Hart

My sad partinge [illegible] be farr from making me to forgett
you that I have [illegible] thought upon my selfe since
but wholly upon you those deare [illegible] I yett see
& shall never lose (being the faithfull testimony of an
Indulgent husband) have charmed my soule to such a
reverence of yo Remembrances that were it possible I
would wth my owne blood lament yo dead limbs to life
againe and wth reverence think it noe sinn to robb heaven
a little longer of a Martyr Oh my dearest on must now
pardon my passion this being the last (oh fatall word)
that ever you will receive from me and know that untill
the last ~~minute~~ minute that I can I maginie you shall live
I will sacrifise the prayers of a Christian and the groanes
of an affected wife & when you are not wth sure by symptoms
I shall ~~feele~~ know I shall wish my owne dissolucion [illegible] you
It soe wee my goe [illegible] in hand to heaven it is to late to tell
what I have (or rather have not) done for you how turned out
to doores because I came to beg mercy the lord lay not
yo blood to their charge, I would faine discourse longer
wth you but dare not my passion begins to drowne my
reason & will robb me of my devocion wth is all I have left
to serve you a ~~deine~~ Deine therfore ten thousand yeres
my dearest deare & since I must never see you more [illegible]
this prayer ~~[illegible]~~ may your faith ~~be~~ soe strengthened
that yo Constancie may continue, and then I hope
heaven will receive you wher greife & love will in a
short tyme after I hope [illegible] late my Deare
yo sadd but Constant wife even
to sove yo [illegible] when dead

A Penruddock

Your children [illegible]
[illegible] blessing
[illegible] present their duty
you

May the 3rd 1655 11 o'clock at night

to fold the note in the good old-fashioned three-cornered shape of a true billet doux, and it appears to have been marked by tears. Are they those of John and Arundel Penruddock?

In proceeding with our narrative, we unfortunately come upon a difficulty, for copies of two answers of his to it are extant, the originals of which, I have been unable to discover. The first is in the pamphlet of July 2nd, 1655:—

"My dearest heart,

I even now received thy farewell letter; each word whereof represents unto me a most lively emblem of your affection drawn with thy own hand in water colour, to the figure of a death's head. My dear, I embrace it as coming first from God, and then from man: for what is there done in the City that the Lord hath not permitted? I look upon every line of thine as so many threads twisted together into that of my life, which being now woven, my meditations tell me will make a fit remnant for my winding sheet. Upon the reading th'of I say with the Prophet, I should have utterly fainted, but that I verily believe to see the goodnesse of the Lord in the land of the living.

As this is mine my dear, so let it be thy consolation. When I think what a wife and what children I go from and look no further, I begin to cry, O! wretched man that I am! But when my thoughts soar higher, and fix themselves upon those things which are above, where I shall find God my Creatour, to my Father, and his Son my Redeemer to my Brother (for so they have vouchsafed to term themselves) then I lay aside those relations and do of all love, my dear, desire thee not to look towards my Grave, where my Body lies, but toward the heaven, where I hope my soul shall gain a mansion in my Father's house. I do steadfastly believe that God hath heard the prayer of my friends and thine and mine, and how knowest thou, woman, whether thou hast not saved thy husband? Let those considerations raise thy spirits, I beseech thee, and that for God's sake and mine though I ly among the children of men, that are set on fire against me; yet under the shadow of the Almightie's wing I will hide myself till this tyranny be overpast. The greatest conflicte I have had in this extremetie was my parting with thee; the next encounter is to be with Death, and my Saviour hath so pulled out the sting thereof, that I hope to assault it without fear. Though the armies of men have been too hard for me, yet am I now lifting myself under the conduct of my Sovereign, and an army of martyrs, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against.

My dear, I have now another subject to think on, therefore you must excuse the imperfections you find here. I have formerly given you directions concerning my children, to which I shall referre you. May the blessing of Almighty God be upon thee and them, and may there not want a man of my name to be ready to be a sacrifice in this cause of God and his Church so long as the sun and moon shall endure. I now shall close up all with desiring you to give a testimony for me to the world that I die with so much charity as to forgive my enemies. I will joyne them in my last prayers for my friends; amongst which you and my children are for my sake obliged to pay a perpetual acknowledgment. To Mr. Rolles* and

*Mr. Rolles—Lord Chief Justice Rolles, no doubt.

his Lady, and my cousin, Mr. Sebastian Izaack for their great solicitations on my behalf. If I could forget this city of Exeter for their civilities to my own self in particular indeed to all of us, I should leave a reproach behind me, I will give them thanks at my death and I hope you and yours will do it when I am dead.

My dear Heart, I once more bid thee adieu, and with as much love and sincerity as can be imagined.

I subscribe myself,
Thy dying and loving husband,
JNO. PENRUDDOCK.

Exon, May 7, and the last year and day of my date *
being the year of my Saviour, 1655.

Note. When this letter was writ Colonel Penruddock did not know other than that he was to die the same day.

Note. Mr. S. Izaack, though he seemed very sollicitous for Colonel Penruddock in his life, since his death hath been very unworthy to his memory (contrary to his promise to the said Colonel in his life) and hath done contrary to the will of the dead, the trust reposed in him, the principles of honour, and much unbecoming a gent." †

The second appeared in an essay in "The Lover" for March 13th, 1714. The author (Sir Richard Steele) after giving Mrs. Penruddock's letter as above, thus proceeds :—

"I do not know that I have ever read anything so affectionate as that line, 'Those dear embraces which yet I feel.'

Mr. Penruddock's answer has an equal tenderness which I shall recite also, that the town may dispute whether the man or the woman expressed themselves the more kindly, and strive to imitate them in less circumstances of distress; for from all no couple upon earth are exempt."

Then follows his version of the answer :—

"Dearest Best of Creatures,

I had taken leave of the world when I received yours: It did at once recall my fondness for life and enable me to resign it. As I am sure I shall leave none behind me like you, which weakens my resolution to part from you; so when I reflect I am going to a place where there are none but such as you I recover my courage. But fondness breaks in upon me; and as I would not have my tears flow tomorrow, when your husband and the father of our dear babes is a public spectacle; do not think meanly of me, that I give way to grief now in private, when I see my sand run so fast, and I within few hours am to leave you helpless and exposed to the merciless and insolent, that have wrongfully put me to a shameless death, and will object that shame to my poor children. I thank you for all your goodness to me, and will endeavour so to

* So May 7th was his birthday; and in the spirit of the age, so full of divination he thought it was to be his death-day.

† I know not Mr. Izaack's misdeeds, including those against the writer of the pamphlet.

die, as do nothing unworthy that virtue in which we have mutually supported each other, and for which I desire you not repine that I am first to be rewarded; since you ever preferred me to yourself in all other things, afford me, with chearfulness, the precedence in this. *

I desire your prayers in the articles of death, for my own will then be offered for you and yours.

J. PENRUDDOCK."

Unfortunately he does not tell us whether he had ever seen the original, or what was his authority for this letter. We cannot feel certain whether either of the above letters was ever penned by Colonel Penruddock. The one has the weight which attaches to a publication made soon after the event. The other has no date at all, and there are not a sufficient number of the Colonel's undoubted letters left to us to judge from the style. It may be there was a second letter from Mrs. Penruddock to her husband, during the thirteen days he still survived, and that the latter is an answer to that, but that is mere conjecture, so I pass on.

The morning of Wednesday, the 16th of May, dawned on a scaffold set for the execution, in that noble amphitheatre the castle yard at Exeter. The bright green foliage of the fine old trees which surrounded it, then alive with the song and hum of young spring bird and insect, must have contrasted strangely with the black-clothed mournful groups, and the tolling bell.

The executioner has made his preparations—the block is placed, the axe gleams in the sun, and the sawdust is thrown round—the hour of death has come!

We know not the friends who were present to support Penruddock and Grove on the occasion. But we may fairly presume that George Penruddock, the former's eldest son, Mr. Bowman, who preserved the notes of Sergeant Glynne's sentence of death, and Mr. Martin, the Vicar of Compton Chamberlain, were there, and some relations of Hugh Grove, together with Doctors Short and Flavell, apparently two clergymen of the Church of England, who assisted the condemned with ministrations during their last hours.

The following accounts of what happened are from manuscripts now at Compton and Zeals, which have a genuine appearance, though

* "Se invicem anteponendo" Tacitus.—Agricola,

I cannot say in whose handwriting either are. First let us peruse that which relates to Penruddock :—

" The Speech of the Honourable Colonell Penruddock, the greatest part wherof he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exon Castle the 16 day of May, 1655, the whole he left with a Gent, and friend of his, written with his own hand: which is as followeth.

Together with the manner of his being beheaded. As he was ascending the Scaffold, baring his knees and humbly bowing himself he used these words 'This I hope will prove to be like Jacob's ladder: though the feet of it rest on Earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to Heaven.'

When he came upon the scaffold, he said Oh! wretched man that I am who shall deliver mee from this body of death.

I thanke God who giveth mee the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

(The pamphlet of July 2nd, 1655, here inserts :—

" Then with abundance of Christian chearfulnesse he spake to the people as followeth :—)

Gentlemen, It is the comon custome of all Psons. that come to dye to give some satisfacton to the spectators whether they be guilty of the ffact of which they stand chrg'd* Truly if I were conscious to myselfe of any base ends that I had in this undertaking I would not be soe injurious to my owne soule or disingenions to you as not to make a public acknowledgem^{t}. thereof, I suppose that divers psons. as they are byased by their sevrall interests and relatons give their opinions to the world concerning us: I conceave it impossible therefore to expresse myselfe in this particular as not to expose both my judgem^{t}. and reputation to the censure of many which I shall leave behind mee because I will not quitt others therefore upon a breach of charity concerning mee or my actons. I have thought fitt to decline all discourses which may give them a capacity either to injure themselves or mee: My triall was publique and my sevrall examinatons I beleeve wilbe pduced when I am in my grave. I will referre you therefore to the first which I am sure some of you heard and to the latter which many of you in good time may see; Had Captain Crooke done himself and us that right which a gent and a souldier ought to have done I had not beene now here, The man I forgive with all my heart but truly (Gentlemen) his ptesting. against those Articles which he himselfe with so many ptestations. and importunity putt upon us, hath drawne so much dishonour and blood upon his head that I feare some weary judgem^{ts}. will pursue him, though he hath beene false to us I pray God I doe not prove a true Prophett to him. †

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* The pamphlet of July 2nd, 1655, inserts after " charged " " The crime for which I am now to die is Loyalty, but in this age called High Treason. I cannot deny but I was at South Moulton in this County: but whether my being there or my actions there amount to so high a crime as high Treason I leave to the world and to the Law to judge."

† The pamphlet inserts after " Prophet to him " " Nay I must say more that coming on the road to Exon, he the said Captain Crook told me ' Sir Joseph Wagstaff was a gallant gentleman, and that he was sorry he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our articles; but now (said he) I have beset all the country for him, so that he cannot escape but must be hanged.

Thus much I am obliged to say to the honour of the souldiery, that they have beene so farre from breaking [any*] Articles given to others heretofore that they have rather bettered them than otherwise.

It is now our misfortune to be made Presidents [precedents] and examples togeather [but I will not do the Protector so much injury as to load him with this dishonour since I have been informed, &c.] but I have heard that the Protector would have made our conditons good if Crooke that gave them, had not abjur'd them ; This is not a time for me to inlarge upon any subject since I am now become the subject of death, but since the Articles were drawne by my very hand I thought myselfe obliged to a particular justification of them. I could tell you of some souldiers which are turned out of his Troope for defending those conditions of o^rs^. but lett that passe and henceforward instead of Life Liberty and Estate [which were the articles agreed upon] lett drawing hanging and quartering be the denominatons of Captain Crooke's Articles. [However I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable death.]

I should now give you an account of my ffaith but truly (Gent) this poore Nation is rent into so many sevrall opinions that it is impossible for me to give you mine without displeasing some of you. However if any may be so criticall as to inquire of what ffaith I dye I shall referre them to the Apostles [Athanasius and Nicene] Creed and to the Testimony of [this Reverend Gentleman] Dr. Short to whom I have unbosomed myselfe and if this don't satisfye you look in the [thirty nine] Articles of the [Catholic] Church of England those I have subscribed and doe owne [authentic].

Having now given you an accompt concerning myselfe I hold myselfe obliged in duety to some of my ffriends to take of a suspicion which lyes upon them. I meane as to some psons. of honour which upon my examination I was charg'd to have held a correspondency with My Lord Marquis of Hertford the Marquis of Winchester and my Lord of Pembrooke were persons denominated to me. I did then acquitt them and doe now second it with this protestations that I never held any correspondency with either [or any] of them in relation to this particular business or indeed to any which concernes ye Protector or his Goverm^t^.† I was examined likewise concerning my brother ffreake [Freke, Mrs. Penruddock's brother], my cousin Hastings [Mr. Dorrington] and others. It is pbable. their estates may make them lyable to this my conditon but I doe here so farr quit them as to give the world this my further ptestation that I am confident they are as innocent in this busines as the youngest child here.

He also questioned me as I passed through Salisbury from London whether he had given me conditions—which I endeavouring to make appear to Major Butler; he interrupted me and unwillingly confesst it saying I proffered him four hundred pounds to perform his Articles : which had been a strange proffer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him. And I told him then (having found him unworthy) I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary. To make it yet farther appear, I injure him not by stiling him unworthy, after these articles were given, he profered to pistoll me, if I did not persuade another house to yield, which then were boldly resisting. To which my servant John Biby now a prisoner replyed : I hope you will not be so unworthy as to break the Law of arms.

* The words in brackets in the text throughout this page are from the pamphlet.

† Pamphlet : "As for the Marquesse of Winchester, I saw him some twelve years since, and not later; and if I should see him here present I believe I should not know him. And for the Earl of Pembrook he was not a man likely to whom I should discover my thoughts, because he is a man of contrary judgement."

If I would have beene so unworthy as others have bene I suppose I might by a lye have saved my life which I scorne to purchase at such a rate, I defie such temptations and them that gave them me. [This sentence is not in the pamphlet.]

I have no more to say now but to tell you I am in charity with all men and that I thanke God I can [and do] forgive my greatest pseutors [and all that ever had any hand in my death. I have offered the Protector as good security for my future demeanour as I suppose he would have expected; if he had thought fit to have given me my life, I should not have been so ungrateful as to have employed it against him]. I do humbly submitt to God's pleasure knowing that ye issues of life and death are in his hands. My blood is but a small sacrifice if it had beene saved I am so much a gent as to have given thankes to him that pserved it and so much a Christian as to forgive them which take it away.* These unhappy times have [indeed] beene very ffatall to my family two of my brothers are already slaine in the most just defence of the king's cause and myselfe going to the slaughter.†

It is God's will I humbly submitt to that Providence. I must remember to [render an acknowledgement] acknowledge ye great civility that I have rec^d^. from this Citie of Exon and some psons of quality. ‡ I shall close with praiers

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* The pamphlet: "But seeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it, though terrible to nature; but blessed be my Saviour who hath taken out the sting; so that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleased God to make me so good a husband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not ashamed of the cause for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy, to suffer in the defence and cause of God's true church, my Lawfull King, the Liberty of the subject, and priviledge of Parliaments. Therefore I hope none of my alliance and friends will be ashamed of it; it is so far from pulling down my Family that I look upon it, as the raising it one story higher. Neither was I of so prodigall of nature as to throw away my life, but have used (though none but honourable and honest) means to preserve it."

† I have already mentioned the death of his brother Henry. Who the other brother was that he alludes to here I have not been able to discover.

‡ Pamphlet: "And for theis plentifull provision made for the prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to myself; and I desire him to present my due respects to the Protector, and though he had no mercy for myself, yet that he would have respect for my family.

I am now stripping off my cloaths to fight a duell with death (I conceave no other duell lawful) but my Saviour hath pulled out the sting of this mine enemy by making himselfe a sacrifice for me; and truly I do not think that man deserving one drop of his blood, that will not spend all for him in so good a cause.

The truth is gentlemen, in this age Treason is an 'individuam vagum,' like the wind in the gospel, it bloweth where it listeth; so now Treason is what they please, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man except he will be a Traitour, can avoid this censure of Treason. I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my Brothers' bloud that is now to die with me, may be the last upon this score.

Now gentlemen you may see what a condition you are in without a King; you have no law to protect you, no rule to walk by; when you perform your duty to God, your king and country, you displease the Arbitrary powers now set up: (I cannot call it Government) I shall leave you to peruse my triall, and there you shall see, what a condition this poor Nation is brought into; and (no question will be utterly destroyed, if not restored (by Loyall subjects) to its old and glorious Government. I pray God he lay not his judgements upon England for their sluggishnesse in doing their duty, and readinesse to put their hands in their bosomes, or rather taking part with the enemy of truth. The Lord open their eyes that they may be no longer lead, or drawn into such snares; else the child unborn will curse the day of their Parents' birth.

God Almighty Preserve my lawfull King Charles the Second, from the hands of his Enemies, and break down that wall of pride and rebellion, which so long hath kept him from his just rights. God Preserve his Royall Mother, and all his Majestie's Royall Brethren, and incline their hearts to seek after him. God incline the hearts of all true *English* men to stand up as one man to bring in the King; and redeem themselves and this poor Kingdome, out of its more then *Egyptian* Slavery.

for the king and his Restouraton and I shall desire my allies and ffriends not to be ashamed of the ignomy of my death since tis for such a cause,that they ought to esteeme my death to be an honour to my family, and thus I comit my soule to God my Creator and Redeemer.

Glory be to God on high, In earth peace, goodwill towards men.

When he had done speaking to ye people he turn'd himselfe to the Sheriffe and said Mr. Sheriffe Tell my Lord Protector I hope mine will finde more ffavour from him than I have done. I have used all lawfull meanes for the saving of my Life ffor I was not so prodigall of Nature but that if I could have prserved it with honour I would willingly have done it, but seeing it may not be I most gladly submitt to Pvidence herein.

[Putting of his dublett.] I am now putting of these old raggs of mine and am going to be clad with the new Robes of the righteousness of Jesus Christ.

When he had done his speech to ye people he kneeled downe and praied aloud, after that he praied private to himselfe, when he had done he kissed ye blocke saying he rec^d^. that Example from o^r^ Saviour. Then standing calls 3 or 4 times for a sight of the axe which when it was brought to him he kiss't it twice or thrice and told the Executon^r^ that he forgave him and will'd him to be no more afraid to give him the blow then he was to receave it. [Then he desired to see the axe and after kissing it he said I am likely to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetened it unto me.]

Also he told him he would kneele downe once and fitt his necke to ye blocke and rise againe (which he did) and when he kneel'd downe ye second time he desired the people to pray for him and will'd the Executioner to observe his right hand that when he lifted that up he should doe his Office which he did in a little time after he lay downe the second time, and when he lifted up his hand he cryed aloud saying Lord Jesus receave my soule and soe the Executoner did his office in the Twinkling of an eie at one blowe ye body nor head never making the least moton no not so much as stirring a ffinger. [So laying his neck upon the block, and after some fervent ejaculations, he gave the Headsman a sign with his hand who at one blow severed his head from his body."]

Prayer of Colonel John Penruddock as used by him on the scaffold.

"Oh Eternal, Almighty and most mercifull God, The righteouse judge of all the world, looke downe in mercy upon mee a miserable sinner. Oh blessed Jesus Redeemer of mankinde which takest away the sinnes of the world let thy perfect innocency and obedience be p^r^sented to thy heavenly ffather for me, Let thy precious death and bloud be the ransome and satisfaction for my many and haynous transgressions, thou that sittest at the right hand of God make intercession for mee. O holy and blessed spirit wch art the Comforter fill my heart with thy consolations Oh holy blessed and glorious Trinity be mercifull unto mee, confirm my faith in the pmises of the Gospell, revive and quicken my

As I have now put off these garments of cloth, so I hope I have put off my garments of sinne, and have puton the robes of Christ's Righteousnesse here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious robes anon.

Then he kneeled down and kissed the block, and said thus, 'I commit my soul to God my Creatour and Redeemer, Look on me, O Lord, at my last gasping: Hear my prayer and the prayers of all good people, I thank thee, O God, for all thy dispensations towards me.

Then kneeling down he prayed most devoutly as followeth, O Eternal &c. After which he kissed the axe."

hope and expectatons of joyes prepared for true and faithfull servants, Lett the infinite Love of God my Saviour, make my love to him steadfast sincere and constant. Oh Lord consider my contrition, accept my teares, asswage my greife give mee comfort and confidence in thee: Impute not unto mee my former sinnes but most mercifull ffather, receave mee into thy favour by the meritts of Christ Jesus.

Many and grievous are my sinnes, for I have sinned many times against the Light of knowledge, against remorse of conscience, against the motions and opportunityes of Grace, But accept I beseech thee the sacrifice of a broken and contrite hearte, in and for the pfect sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction of thy sonne Christ Jesus; Oh Lord receave my soule (after it is delivered from the burden of the flesh) into pfect joy, in the sight and fruition of thee, and at ye generall resurrection graunt that my body may be endued with immortality and receaved, with my soule into glory.

I praise thee O God I acknowledge thee to be ye Lord.

O Lambe of God that takest away ye sinnes of ye world, have mercy upon me.

Thou that sittest at the right hand of God, receave my praier.

O Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, Mediatour betwixt God and man I have sinned as a man, be thou merciful unto me as God.

O holy and blessed spiritt, helpe my infirmityes with those sighes and groanes which I cannot expresse.

Amen. Amen. Amen."

Next follows, the Zeals M.S. :—

"After Colonel Penruddock was beheaded, Colonel Grove was brought upon the stage, who during the tyme of his comeing thither and stay there kept up a gallant and heroick spirit.

Att his first comeing upon the stage he saluteth the sheriffe, and told him desireing the people alsoe to take notice That he had newly parted with Doctor Short* and Doctor fflavell with whome he had perfected his preparation for death, And therefore onely desired liberty to make a shorte speeche to the people and a private prayer to himselfe. After which (with his thanks to the citizens of Excester for their civilities to him and them of the better sorte and theer charity to the meaner sort of prisoners which he desired them to contynew) submitted his head to the block, which was very ill fitted for his neck, And after a pritty long debate betwixt the sheriffe and Headsman who doubted he should not be able to doe his worke without putting him to some torture, he had at one blow and a sawe his head severed from his body."

His speech upon the Scaffold.

"Good People I never was guilty of much Rhetorick nor ever loved long speeches in all my life. And therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death, All that I shall desire of you (besides your hearty prayers for my soule) That you will beare me a witness, that I die a true sonne of the

* Probably Anthony Short, D.D., the ejected Rector of Drewsington, &c., in the county of Devon, a Royalist divine, beloved and respected. Of Mr. Herring, who was substituted for him, the following story is told — whilst catechising his National School children, whom he had before instructed that the minister stood in God's place, he asked a lad, "In whose place do I stand?" To his confusion the reply was, "In Dr. Short's."—See Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy,"

Church of England as it was established by Edwd. the 6th and Eliz. and K. James and Charles of ever blessed memory, That I die a loyale subject to King Charles the 2nd my undoubted soveraigne, and a lover of the good old laws, the just privileges of parliament, and the rights and libertyes of the people, for the reestablishing of all which I undertooke this engagement and for which I am now ready to lay down my life: God forgive the judges and counsell for perverting the law, God forgive the bloudy minded jury and those that procured them. God forgive Captayne Crooke for denying his articles soe unworthily. God forgive Mr. Dove and other persons for swearing soe malitiously and falsely against mee. God forgive all myne enemyes, I heartily forgive them. God bless the king and all that love him. Turne the hearts of all that hate him. God bless you all and be mercifull to you and to my soule."*

His prayer.

This is word for word the same as Penruddock's, and therefore is not repeated. His speech challenges our admiration, as a model of terse eloquence—the frank language of a thorough soldier.

The newspapers are very various as to the day of execution, placing it on the 7th, 8th or 9th, and 16th of May.

The 9th is the date Aubrey gives in his Miscellanies, p. 22, ed. 1720, chapter on days of fatality. Colonel Grove, he says, "was beheaded May the 9th, 1655. On that very day three years his son died at London, of malignant fever, and about the same hour." Alas for the fatalists and Aubrey's veracity Grove was beheaded May 16th, as we shall find further proof of hereafter!

The following newspaper slip, evidently from "a round" nibbed pen, is worth preserving:—[1]

"From Exeter we had the certain news of the execution of Colonels Penruddock and Grove which was not until Weduesday last (16th) As by an Eye witness take as followeth: 'This morning (16th) Colonel Penruddock and Colonel Grove were beheaded in the Castle Green at Exeter. I was upon the scaffold and saw the Execution; their heads being severed from their bodies; their speeches were but short and to very little purpose; they dyed very stoutly and very desperately, vindicating their carriage and actions without any confession or contrition for sin at all. I cannot give you the particulars neither indeed are they so considerable unless it be to prevent false copies which I make no question, but will be largely set forth by some though to little purpose and I fear lesse truth.'"

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* There can be no doubt but that this was the speech he then uttered. It will be found amongst the Thurloe papers (vol. 3, p. 445), endorsed "Taken in shorthand upon the scaffold by N. I. [one of the Izaack's family?], a true lover of his, and his constant visitant in prison; and it is in the pamphlet of July 2nd, 1655.

[1] *Perfect Diurnall*, Monday, May 21st, 1655, p. 4373.

Pass we now to something more authentic.

In the Compton Chamberlayne Register there is the following entry in Mr. Martin's (the Vicar) handwriting :—

"John Penruddock Esqre. died at Exceter May 16th, and buried at Compton the 19th of the same month."

In the account book preserved at Compton which has been already mentioned, we read :—

ffor bringing home Mr. Penruddock's body from Exon to Compton	£07	09	00
ffor a tombstone the Mason's work about it	02	07	06
More for ribbands and gloves	00	19	11

Then follow items, poor rates, servants at Exon, and one that looks ominous—"sawing boards;" and we hurry on gladly to an entry ahead, "George Penruddock his expences at Oxon in 1660."

We may be sure then that the last tributes of respect were paid to John Penruddock, in his old home, by his loving wife and children; but no further record of what occurred has reached me.

In the autumn of 1855 some repairs were made to the floor of the Penruddock family pew in Compton Church, when, in a small brick vault beneath, a large coffin was discovered, almost entirely decayed—the bottom only just holding to the sides. No doubt it was that of John Penruddock.

It appeared on examination that a body had been enclosed, first in a half-inch elm shell, and that again in a mahogany coffin, having an outer covering of oak with large thick pieces of wood screwed on the outside as if to protect it and form a packing case for travelling to the whole, a large extra lid being fastened on the top of all. The nails were of brass, thickly gilt. No inscription survived. Cloth had been used as a covering of the coffin, but it was totally decayed, the brick vault in which the interment was made having been very damp. The inner coffin contained bones (apparently those of a middle-aged man) and portions of a substance supposed to be skin, with short light-colored or red hairs on it. No part of a skull or teeth could be discovered, so that most probably the head was never

placed with the body. If it was exposed on the scaffold or on the castle gate at Exeter, it may easily have disappeared.[1]

Returning now to the survivors.

Fortunately there stood by Mrs. Penruddock's side, at this time, one who appears to have faithfully and kindly fulfilled the trust reposed in him by Colonel Penruddock, of protecting her and her children.[2]

John Martin, the Vicar of Compton, can have been no ordinary man; for more than half a century he retained the respect and esteem of his contemporaries. To a manly character he added a highly-cultivated intellect. He was the counterpart of the Vicar of Bray, for John Martin never wavered in his allegiance to the trust which in his opinion was committed to him at his ordination as a clergyman of the Church of England. The account books at Compton and the parish register appear to indicate that he was a good man of business, one likely to throw some method and thought into the conduct of his lost patron's affairs. Perchance he was of the old Wiltshire family of Martyn. There is a "John Martyn" on the Commission of the twelfth year of Henry VI. (1468; see note to Fuller's Worthies), who may have been his ancestor. But it will be well to give Anthony Wood's account of him, for he knew his relation, Nicholas Martin, Vice Principal of Hart Hall, Oxford, and heard of him also from Aubrey:—

"John Martin son of a father of both his names, who was a schoolmaster in a little market town called Meere in Wilts, was born there, became a batler of Trin. Coll. in Lent term an 1637 aged 17 years, with hopes of obtaining a scholarship there by the favour of Dr. Hannibal Potter, the president of that House (upon whose account he first settled there),* but that design failing, his father caused him to be entered into Oriel Coll,.where being put under a careful tutor, he took one degree in arts Anno 1640. In 1642 the civil war began, and whether he bore armes for his Majesty within the Garrison of Oxon, or was called home by his relations, I know not.

[1] What Anthony Wood meant by talking of Colonel Penruddock's "altar-tomb" was best known to himself. It never existed. I am indebted for the above information about Colonel Penruddock's grave to Mr. Penruddock, of Compton, and a recent correspondence in a local paper.

[2] "Desire Mr. Martyn to attend you in this business."—Col. Penruddock's letter to his wife, March 16th, 1655. Wilts Arch. Mag. vol. xiii., p. 133.

*How this intimacy arose does not appear, as Wood gives no details of Potter's birth, &c.

Sure I am that having a benifice promised him, he took priestly orders from the hands of Dr. Robert Skinner Bishop of Oxon in Trin. Coll. Chap. on the 21st of December An. 1645, and two days after he was instituted Vicar of Compton Chamberlayne in Wilts, by the presentation thereunto of Sir John Penruddock, who gave him also the lecturer's place in the church there. Afterwards being settled as much as the then times could permit, he continued there in good repute, till he was among other religious and conscientious divines ejected for refusing the presbyterian Covenant. Being thus deprived by unreasonable men, he rented a little farm at Tisbury, lived as a grazier in the times of the usurpation, was knowing and consenting to the generous, yet unfortunate insurrection of the Cavaliers at Salisbury in the latter end of 1654, at which time they were headed by the most loyal and valiant Colonel John Penruddock son and heir of the aforesaid Sir John Penruddock, for which he the said Mr. Martin suffered for a time by close imprisonment, and had without doubt gone to pot could the rebels have found sufficient witnesses that he had been engaged in the said plot or insurrection. However being made one of the trustees of the estate of the said Colonel, he by his prudence, preserved it from sequestration, was in a condition to cherish his distressed family, and take his children under his roof. He was a person of great modesty, well skilled in the Latin Greek and Hebrew languages, and versed in all such learning as was necessary to make him a compleate divine, and therefore after the restoration of his Majesty King Charles II. when ancient learning began to be in repute again, he became much esteemed by the ministers and loyal gentry of his neighbourhood, was restored to what he had lost, and by the favour of Thos. Freeke Esq.* was made rector of Melcombe Horsey in Dorsetshire in January an 1660. When Dr. Earl was translated from Worcester to Salisbury (latter end September 1663) he made choice of our Author Martin to preach his primary visitation sermon, and intended his further promotion in the church, but being untimely taken away, (died November 1665), his design failed.† However when Dr. Seth Ward became bishop of that place he collated him to the prebendship of Yatsbury in the church of Sarum by the resignation of Mr. Dan Whitley on the 10th of Dec an 1688 (about which time he made him his dean rural for the deanery of Chalke) and soon after upon a vacancy, the dean and canons would have elected him a canon resident, but his modesty would not permit him to give them any encouragement. In the month of Octob 1675 he was made Chaplain to Charles Earl of Nottingham, and in the beginning of Oct. 1677 he was collated by the said bishop Ward (who had singular respect for him and his learning) to the prebendship of Preston in the said Church of Sarum; with his rectory, vicaridge and lecture (little enough for such a modest and learned person, and so great a sufferer for his loyalty as Mr. Martin was) he kept for some time after the prince of Orange came to the crown. At length sticking to his old principles, and denying the oaths of allegiance to him and his queen was deprived of all, except his lecture, which being worth about £30 per an was all that he had left to keep him till the time of his death as was reported but Bp Burnet in

* Mrs. Penruddock's brother.

† Dr. Alexander Hyde, brother of Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was Bishop of Salisbury, from December, 1665, to August 22nd, 1667, when he died and was succeeded by Dr. Ward.

the Vindication of his sermon at Dr. Tillotson's Burial p. 62 saith 'Mr. Martin was continued by me in his living to his death, which happened two years ago, and I still paid him the income of his prebend out of my purse.* He would not indeed take the oaths, but he would never join in the schism with the rest of the non jurors, whose principles and practices he said to me he detested.'

He hath written and published several sermons as (1) Hosanna A Thanksgiving Sermon intended to have been preached 28 June 1660 and on Psalm 118 22—25 Oxon 1660, qto. It is dedicated to William Marquis of Hertford, and Lady A. P. meaning, I suppose, Arundella Penruddock mother (wife) to Col John Penruddock. (2) Lex pacifica: or God's own law of determining controversies on Deut 17, 12 Lond 1664, qto. It was preached at the assizes at Dorchester for the County of Dorset the 5th of August 1664, and is ded: to Sir Matthew Hale Lord Chief Justice of the Exchequer (Common Pleas) Sir Jon Archer one of the Justices of the Com Pleas (the Judges of Assize) and to Tho Freek Esq. High Sheriff of Dorsetshire (Doubtless his Patron Mrs. Penruddock's brother).

Go in Peace: containing some brief Directions for young Ministers in their visitation of the sick, useful for the People in their state both of health and sickness Lond: 1674 in large 6to.

Mary Magdalen's Tears wip'd off: or the Voice of Peace to an unquiet Conscience &c. Lond: 1676 octavo. Written by way of a letter to a person of quality, and published for the comfort of all those that mourn in Zion. He hath written other things fit for the press, which perhaps may in time see light. At length this worthy divine dying at Compton Chamberlayne before mentioned on the third day of Novemb: 1693, was buried in the chancel of the church there, leaving there behind him the character among those that well knew him of a modest learned divine, and altogether fitting of a greater station in the Church than he enjoyed after the restoration of his Maj: King Charles II. &c. as I have been informed by that primitive Christian, faithful and generous friend Nich Martin, Master of Arts and Vice Principal of Hart Hall, near of kin to the said John Martin."

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Sir Richard Hoare (Modern Wilts, add. p. 64, pub. 1837), adds that Mr. Martin, of Stour Provost, having referred him to this memoir, remarked:—

"That although he is said to have had but little to keep him at the time of his death, yet the Court Roll of Gillingham proves he had a tolerable estate there, and Mr. M. is happy to say it is now (1823) in the possession of a great granddaughter of the celebrated Hugh Grove of Chissenbury, and who is the widow of a great grandson of the above John Martin."

Sequestration followed—stern and grievous. Mrs. Penruddock and her children were obliged to leave their home, either from want

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*This fact is mentioned by Dr. Burnet's Biographer. See Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. vi., p. 323 (ed. 1823).

of means, or at the instance of the Commissioners of Sequestration.[1] She appears to have lived for a time at Mr. Martin's at Tisbury, and would thus be able to watch over her son's interest. Mr. Martin would himself do what he was well able to do—educate the boys.

But there must have been a struggle for existence, as piece after piece of the family estate was hunted out and sequestrated. Fourteen major-generals ("Turkish Bashaws," as Ludlow calls them) were appointed, for preserving order and attending to sequestration. Of these Disbrowe looked after Wiltshire no doubt thoroughly.

Worsley, another of them, in whose district was Stafford, writes thence to Thurloe on the 8th of December, 1655 : —[2]

"We have found an estate of Penruddock which was executed and have ordered it to be sequestrated."

Shortly afterwards he writes again to the Protector :—

"May it please your Highness, &c.

We have in Staffordshire taxed as many as amounts to about £1300 or £1400 per an., and have discovered about £100 per ann. in lands of Penruddock's who was in armes at Salisbury, and afterwards Executed for his rebellion."

There are also the following letters of Mrs. Penruddock, relating to an application for the restoration of her husband's personal estate, which had been forfeited :—

Letter of Mrs. Penruddock to her Uncle, John Trenchard, Esq., 1655.

"Dear Unele,

As my perplext soul was not without some presage of calamity, which is since fallen upon me, when you're pleased to deny me your assistance, in petitioning for the life of my Dear husband, so it is not destitute of all comfortable expectation from you, that you vouchsafed, which your refusal of my desires in the one to joine your courteous proffer of your helping the other (viz[t]) My petitioning for that part of my husband's estate (together with his moveables) which is liable to a forfeiture. I beseech you good uncle to call to mind that

[1] Perhaps it was let. Domestic State Papers, Commonwealth, No. 326, Commissions Compounding General Disbrowe's letters, p. 802. To Wilts, "You are to proceed to let and dispose of Sequestered Estates in your jurisdiction for 1 year next ensuing and get in arrears of rent. May 15th, 1655."

There is an order to examine into Jane Penruddock's Estate on the petition of William Greenhill, the younger, of London, addressed to the Commissioners of Sequestration for Wilts, July 13th, 1655. See Order Book for Compounding Commissioners, 1655. No. 295 Dom. State Papers.

[2] 4 Thurloe State Papers, 300 and 340.

my poor children have some of your blood in their veins, and although it be only mine and their misery that they should (as without your help they must) fall into poverty, yet will it not be mine and their disgrace alone, but that more of their dishonour will be distributed abroad with their blood. Sith my husband's crime be as great as the punishment he hath suffered for it, yet what have my poor children done? What could 7 poor fatherless children do that scarce discern betwixt the right hand or the left? methink (good uncle) the blood that was so untimely poured out of his veins is enough to cool the thirst of the Sword of Justice, and if it were not, yet the tears of a widdow, and of so many fatherless children incessantly spent upon that subject were enough to keep the edge of it from piercing to the very roots of the family, and cutting us off from having a name (unless a dishonorable one) upon earth. But if thus it must be, and I am informed it is, I beseech you, uncle, that you will set before you all the motives to compassion, which have ever drawn tears to pity or hand to help destitute souls, and to believe they meet all in me. I confess I do not merit so great a favour from you, yea, the only argument I can offer you is the sad consequence of the crime, which I am sure offended you, viz.: misery. But as I have not formerly left your goodness unexperienced on such like occasions, so cannot I chuse but hope that you will be my refuge now; now in a time wherein I have such a dearth of friends, and plenty of enemies, some whereof (I trust) have buried their enmity to us in the blood of my husband and therefore may be the more easily reconciled to bestow on us this only good that they can do us, that mercy may leave us bread to eat as well as justice, having given us plenty of tears to drink; think with yourself (Good uncle), that you heard a voice from the ashes of my dead father and mother bespeaking your assistance of their daughter, who, tho' she might justly be denied, yet I am sure they cannot [but] be received by you. But God forbid that I should think that you needed the pressure of some from the dead ere you would help the fatherless and widow to whom your bond of Christian Religion engageth all that profess it, though it were not to them who are (and I hope you think so) of your household of faith. I shall, therefore humbly crave your pardon for my passionate solicitation of you, as springing rather from my weakness than your inexorableness, fearing I might like to see that day wherein my children might seek bread out of a desolate place, even under their own mother's roof.

I beseech you, therefore, (dear uncle) to have in your eye the reward prepared for the merciful man which that God hath promised, who will go himself before you, whilst you are a father of the fatherless and defender of the cause of the widow, from whom I acknowledge to have received all the evil I have suffered, as well as all the good that may descend by yours or the hand of any other friend, on her that must wear an indelible mark of unhappiness the [as her] title.

Dear uncle

Your disconsolate dutiful niece

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK."

She addressed the Protector as follows :—

Peton of Mrs. Penruddock after the decease of her husband.

" To his Highnesse the L^d. Protectour of England Scotland and Ireland the Humble Petition of Arundell Penruddock the Unfortunate Relict of John Penruddock in behalfe of herselfe and her 7 children.

That havinge Lost her Husband by your Highnesses Justice; shee hopes shee may find A subsistence for herselfe and children by your Highnesses Mercy.

And therefore shee humbly Prostrates herselfe at your Highnesses feet, where her necessity will presse her doune, to lye till your Highnesses Clemency Rayse her by a Remission and forgivenesse of the forfeiture of that estate w^ch^., must in part maintain the Lyfe of your Petitioner and her 7 small (untymely made) orphans.

May your Highnesse therefore bee graciously pleased to shut your eye to her Late Husbands offence and open your Eare to the sad Complaint of the widowe and the fatherless. And like Heaven (whose Minister you are) soe Relieve that (as nowe the prayers) soe you may for ever acquire the thanks of your Petitioner and her 7 children who shall perpetually Pray for and Acknowledge your Highnesses Clemency.

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK."

Here come letters to others of influence :—

Mrs. Penruddock's Letter to Colonel Fitzjames.

" Good cousen,

The perusall of yours to my cosen Bowman makes me confesse soe great an obligation that my weak pen cannot returne a suitable acknowledgement much Lesse a requitall. You have hitherto acted as if you had known my misery more than by hearsay, and I beseech you desist not nowe since the neereness of relation will not let me hide my distresses from you.

My husband's estate in Dorset was settled a good while before his unhappy actinge for the payment of his many debts, which were contracted long since without the Least Relation to his there undertaking, what his estate was I shall unwillingly for my owne sake and son's discover, but it comes short of what the world believes, but I would not, because of my relations (whatever in truth I am) bee thought a poore widdowe least I should invite the contempt of the world, having scorn enough allready, but really cousen, the death of my poore husband hath rendered me and mine soe miserable that there need not an addition of severity to take that little which we now petition for, and which in Lawe my husband before his conviction might have disposed off, had it not been by force detained from us, and for the begging whereof I have spent almost £200. But I shall not undertake to justifie our right. If I can by your sollicitation obtain the charity of his Highnesse and the counsell In which I hope Coll Sydenham will assist you will for ever engage mee what I must allready confesse.

Your oblige Kinswoman

Decr. 23 1656. to serve you

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.

Direct your letter to mee
to my cosen Bowman at
Salisbury."

Mrs. Penruddock's Letter to My Lord Richard Cromwell.

" My L^d^.

Could I have put on any other dresse, but griefe, or had any other attendants but misfortunes I should have waighted on you myselfe, and have been the messenger of that gratitude wch. nowe I send for your charitable endeavours in the behalf of my Poore children, But, my L^d^. the calamityes of a

widdowe drowned in tears I knowe are wearisome and troublesome visitants, I have, therefore desired my cosen Bowman to acquaint your Ldshippe what success your endeavours for my Poore orphans mett w^th^all since your Leaving London, beseeching your L^d^shippe that my misery may yet find your pitty for seconding your former Charity that if it be possible I may yet attribute the success of my petition to your L^d^shippes management wch will for ever gayne you the Prayers of six Innocents, and myselfe to be perpetually

My L^d^.

Your most oblijed humble
Servant
ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.

Decr. 30 1656."

Letter of Mrs. Penruddock to the Right Hon. Colonel Sydenham.

S^r^.

Durst I repine at Providence, I could say my burthen is greater than I can beare, but I have not soe learned Christ. My Saviour's lesson was sufferinge and obedience wch. when I forget to practice, I cannot but remember that I walk without my Guide. I have lost already all that this world called good to mee, and have been these 10 moneths a petitioner for that wch. though in justice due and nowe by counsel granted, will prove but a fresh remembrance of my late affliction.

Where the obstacle lyes nowe that hinders mee to enjoy that grace I knowe not. I have noe ffriend but yourselfe to addresse unto, and if the importunity of my miserable widdowhood hath not allready tyred you, I beesech you, S^r^, by all the obligations of honour and Chriatianity to procure his Highnesse to sign that late order made by the councell and wherein my stock is given away, that I may not bee longer at a chargeable sollicitation wch. hath allready cost mee above £200, but may in some measure enjoy the fruite of that civillity you have allready began. I am forced by the importunity of my children to return sooner than I intended, but have left my cousin Bowman to wayt on you and to beg your care and speed in this my request, for which I shall ever acknowledge myselfe

Your obliged Kinswoman
and Gratefull servant
ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.

March 24 [1657 ?]
Ffor the Right Honble. S^r^.
Collonell Sydenham
these."

Her wishes had been anticipated by a day. After many months of autumn and winter, there is an order in Council of the 23rd of March, 1657, "a sum of £200 out of John Penruddock's personal estate is granted to Arundell, his widow, for the benefit of the younger son and five daughters of the said John."—Annals of England, vol. iii., p. 29.

She acknowledges the kindness of Richard Cromwell and Sydenham in the following letters :—

Mrs. Penruddock to the Lord Richard Cromwell.

"My L^d^.

Could I return a gratitude suitable to the high obligations which your L^d^.shippe hath been pleased to honor me and mine with all, I should think my pen well employed, but since I cannot I hope your L^d^ship will remember who it was that accepted the widow's mite, and upon that consideration will not refuse my humble and grateful acknowledgement for your high favours already so charitably begun, beseeching your L^d^ship to give such a continuance to them that I and mine may reap the benefit of our requests by your L^d^ships further favourable intercession, which shall assuredly whilst I live oblige me to be

My L^d^.

Your grateful humble

May 30 Servant

1657." ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.

But this monetary assistance was soon exhausted, having been partly pledged perhaps before it was paid. Two months afterwards she is again obliged to importune the kind-hearted son of the Protector and Sydenham. The letter to the latter comes first in order of time.

Mrs. Penruddock to Colonel Sydenham.

"My L^d^.

An humble gratitude ought allwayes to attend a charitable Performance. Such is mine at present for having understood by my cosen Bowman, of my cosen Fitzjames' his sollicitation to your Lordshippe and your Lordshippes favourable assistance, and dispatch of my childrens late petition, I could not but returne A just acknowledgement wch. I and mine must for ever Pay to your Lordshippe as a tribute to your charity. I understand by my cosen Bowman that there is A second petition in behalf of my children presented to his Highnesse, wch. is likewise referred to your Lordshippe and others to report. My humble request therefore, is to your Lordshippe (and that with teares) to look upon, and consider the distress of my Poore Orphans, who are allready soe miserable that they have only this comfort that they are soe young that they know not their calamity, and that your Lordshippe would be pleased to quitt yourself of my Troublesome Importunity by addinge your favor and assistance to the second petition wth. a speedy dispatch wch. will be a double charity conconsidering the season of the yeare cominge on wch. will prove Some Present Benefitt and for the future engage my poore childrens Prayers and myselfe for ever to be.

My L^d^.

June 25 Your Unfortunate Kinswoman and

1657. humble Servant

My humble service to ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK.

my noble cousen your Lady

My cosen Bowman will acquaint

you with all the particulars."

Mrs. Penruddock to my Lord Richard Cromwell.

"My L^d.

Were my misery less my modesty would be more and check my pen from a rudeness which nothing but a widow's distress dare own.

That I am a trouble to your Lordshipp I cannot but with blushes confess, and yet where I find such a noble pity I cannot but beg a charitable remembrance.

Till, therefore, my L^d. you cease to be less worthy I cannot forbear to be passionately importunate. Were my single self concerned I should, with a suffering patience earn the bread I eat, but when the want of six orphans is added to the distress of a widow, the calamity becomes a charm to compassion, and adds a confident hope of obtaining. My cousin Bowman, my L^d. is the only sollicitour we have, whose letter acquainting me of your Lordship's favorable receiving my last, gives me the boldness of this second address, beseeching your L^dship, to free me from the severity of those who have seized our small estate, by requesting it of his Highness for yourself, to whom I have a desire to owe the preservation of my yet unruined family, and to whom I shall ever acknowledge myself

My L^d. your L^dships obliged
and most humble servant
A. P.

July 3
1657."

Whether she obtained the favours asked by her second petition I have not discovered. Fourteen months to a day ("his own day") after her last letter, the Lord Protector passed away to his rest, and her friend Richard Cromwell entered on his little reign. Then followed the Restoration, which yields one other record of her, commonplace enough, but still a part of her own and her husband's story:—[1]

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

1660 Nov: } The Humble Petition of Arundell Penruddock Relict of John Penruddock.

Humbly sheweth

That besydes the Irreparable Losse of her late Husband shee hath beene damnified in her estate by the Loyalty of her ffamily to the value of fifteen Thousand Pounds.

That (being encouraged by your Sacred Matie) shee hath endeavoured to find out somethinge in your Matie's Power to Grant that might make her some satisfaction for her great Losse.

That shee is Informed that your Matie's Royale Predecessors have ever granted by way of ffarme the Liberty of makinge glasses, namely to S^r. Robert Mansell and others.

That it being none of the English Trade or Manufacture it was never heretofore accounted A Monoply but grantable by the Kinge as his Prerogative.

[1] State Papers, Domes. (A.D. 1660), vol. 22, p. 107.

That it is the desire of the Glassmakers themselves that it may bee Againe Letten to ffarme.

May it therefore Please your most excellent Matie to grant to your Petitioner or such as shee shall Appoynt and noe other Liberty to make glasses for 21 years. And shee is willinge to Pay your Matie for the same the summe of £500 yearely wch is more than ever was pay^d^ for it.

And your Pet^r^. as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray for your Matie's^ Long and happy Reign.

ARUNDELL PENRUDDOCK."

Endorsed
"Pet of M^rs^. Arundell
Penruddock's peton
for ye Glasse office."

The body of the petition is perhaps in the handwriting of John Martin; the signature is Mrs. Penruddock's.

As we look back on those days and think of Charles II., at times half smothered with petitions, some of which were honoured with gold, some with smiles and promises, we can only hope she received substantial comfort.

But to return to the scene of the execution and the fate of Hugh Grove.

There is the following record which I am told is in the possession of Dr. Shapter, of Exeter (January, 1871). It is an extract from a diary of a burgess of Exeter (supposed to be Richard Croping, who in 1649 refused to serve the office of Mayor), lately (1857) found in the town wall at Exeter :—[1]

"Perambulation of the City on the Mayors day.*

By this time we had come to the square tower on the Castle wall, and as we walked round it, we did talk over the late terrible conspiracy against his Highnesse and the Commonwealth and of the beheading of Col John Penruddock and Mr. Grove in the Castle Gaol a death which they petitioned H H to die instead of being hanged (May 1655) as were the other conspirators then taken at Ringswell: there were on that day 14 hanged together, 7 of whom were for treason and 7 for felony."

Izaacke [2] says that Hugh Grove was followed to St. Sidwell's

[1] Favored with a copy of this by Mr. Penruddock.

* No date given.

[2] History of Exeter, p. 10.

Church "by some thousand persons of a depressed party of which number I then thought myself happy to be one."

It must have been a sad interesting sight.

After the Restoration a small brass tablet was placed in the church to record his memory, with the following admirable inscription :—

"Hic jacet Hugo Grove De Enford in Comitate Wilts Armiger, In restituendo Ecclesiam, In asserendo Regem, In propuguando legem, et libertatem Anglicanam, Captus et de collatus. 16 Maii 1655."

Hugh Grove left two sons. The eldest died young, but the second John carries on the story of their family with the following petition to Charles II. :—

Petition of John Grove, Esq., to the King.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty

The humble petition of John Grove Esqre.*

Sheweth

That you petitioner is the only sonne of Collonell Grove, who being in person with your Maj^tie's Royall ffather in all the late Civill warrs was at last beheaded in Exceter in the year 1655 for asserting the Rights of the Crown against the Usurper Oliver Cromwell his whole estate being then seized and ruined by the then Anarchicall powers.

And whereas your petitoner nor any of his ffamily since the happy Restauraton of your Maj^tie's Royall ffamily to this kingdom ever yet tasted any of the Bounty or favour of the Crown (tho alwaies persevering in the strictest principles of Loyalty).

Your petitioner in all humble maner prayes that your Maj^tie would order the payment of what moneys was owing your petitioner upon the Bankers assignment from the Exchequer when shutt upp, it being a great part of the small Remaines on which your petitioners livelihood and maintenance depend. Or that your Maj^tie would please to confer some office upon your petitoners in lieu of the same.

And your petitoner shall ever pray &c.

[No date.] JOHN GROVE."

What happened further on this I know not; but there was a suit which some years afterwards he prosecuted with success. In 1686 he married Mary, the daughter of William and Mary Chafyn,[1] the heiress of Zeals House, and so that estate passed to the Grove family.

* Endorsed (by his sister) "My brother Grove's petition to ye King." MS. at Zeals House.

[1] Mrs. Chafyn was a daughter of Mr. Thomas Freke, of Hinton, Dorset, one of the sons of Sir Thomas Freke, of Shaston, and therefore a relation of Mrs. Penruddock's.

There are a few notes of some of the other prisoners, and first their petitions, which have no date:—

"To the Right Honble. the Commissioners of Oyer and terminer and Goale delivery for the Countyes of Wilts Dorset, Somerset and Devon and the City of Exeter.*

The humble Petition of John Jones, Edward Penrudddock, Robert Swayne together wth. All those other Prisoners now in the Goale exempted from Tryall.

Humbly sheweth

That whereas your Petitioners of Late ignorantly and unadvisedly adhered to the company of certain gentlemen and others now under question and condemnation of this Honble. Court.

Your Petitioners have not beene convicted and Arraigned for the same wch. ffavour and mercy your Petitioners Humbly Acknowledge to bee graciously Indulged them by this Honble. Court.

Your Petitioners humbly Pray then in ffurther tender consideration of your Petitioners present unhappy Condition Uppon theyr faithful Promise and under takeinge And uppon such security as your Petitioners in theyr severall capacityes Are Able to give to his Highnesse the L^d^. Protector And this Honble. Court for theyr ffuture obedience and conformity to the Present Government And that they will never Act Any thinge Against it,

Your Honours will bee gratiously Pleased to Intercede to His Highnesse the L^d^. Protector to Release them from theyr Imprisonment.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray &c."

Endorsement

"Petition to the Com^rs^.
of Oyer & terminer of
All those Gent ex-
empted from Tryall."

Then follows another to the Sheriff:—

"To Y^e^ Honble. Colonel John Copleston Esqre. Sheriff of ye County of Devon.†

The Humble petition of John Jones, Edward Penruddock, and others prisoners in ye High goale of ye City of Exon.

Humbly Sheweth

That whereas yor. pet^rs^. have made their humble address by petition unto ye r^t^. Ho^ble^ ye Lords Com^rs^. of Oyer and Terminer and Goale delivery of ye Counties of Wilts Somerset and Devon, for their Honors gratious and favorable mediation to His Highness ye Lord Protector for yor petr^s^. release from their pr^tn^. [present] sadd imprisonment upon such engagem^t^. and undertakinge as in ye sayd petition are mentioned yor pet^rs^. hu[m]bly pray yor Honor (out of yor tender compassion to their miserable condition) yor honor wil be gratiously pleased to and intercede for them in their sayd humble petion."

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* Compton MSS.

† Compton MSS, Written in a large sprawling handwriting different from the other.

Robert Swayne's name occurs here for the first time, there is no record as to who he was, though we may strongly suspect he belonged to the old Wiltshire family of that name. John Jones will be found in Desborough's list, described as of Newton Tony.

Edward Penruddock, of whom there is the following short entry in Whitelock (Dec. 18th, 1649, 3 vol., p. 129, Oxon, ed. 1853) :—

"Mr. Penruddock, an agent for Prince Charles, was taken and committed close prisoner to the tower,"

was a cousin of Colonel Penruddock's, possibly a son of Sir George Penruddock, of Bower Chalke. He had obtained by purchase the office of six clerk in Chancery, of which he was dispossessed by the Parliament, and Nicholas Love, one of the judges of Charles I. appointed in his place. He appears to have been much trusted by Charles II., was employed in some important matters by the latter, and had doubtless a great share in the preliminaries of the Rising in the West.

From the following letters it may be presumed that he was liberated on bail, shortly after the executions at Exeter, and went at once to the continent, for had the Government been in possession of the information contained in them, he would have been detained in custody.

The first is a letter from Cologne, May 31st, 1655, in which Manning (who, it will be remembered, was in Thurloe's pay) gives a list of those then there, including Charles II., the Duke of Gloucester, Hyde, &c., but he does not mention Penruddock.

Next day he writes again :—

"I need not tell you, by whom Prince Rupert was turned from; yet perhaps you have not known, that Hyde then offered Charles Stuart 50000 men should be in arms in England before a year went about, if he would quit the Queen's Court, and the prince's party. Henry Seymour and Colonel Edmund Villiers went about that time in Paris, and of this juncto in those offers the last engaged his prime agent in England Mr. Henry Penruddock * the late six clerk. By the last letters it doth seem as if Prince Rupert had an intention to see Cologne before Modena; and if he can break Hyde's neck here, it may alter his design, and make him stay with the King which he hath most mind of."

* Manning makes a mistake in calling him "Henry." There was only one of the Penruddock family a six clerk in Chancery.

This seems to show that Edward Penruddock was in Paris at this period. We hear of him again from Manning:—[1]

"Cologne, Nov. 1, 1655. Anon. Letter of Intelligence.

Captain John Shelton Captain Lieutenant to Colonel Killegrew, is sent by Hyde for England, as an additional agent for the West of England. He is allied to the Grenvilles. The Lord Craven will come over, if he can get your pass, which take notice of.

Mr. John Gorge, brother to the Colonel of County of Somerset, Mr. Heywood of Sarnm, Mr. Richard, and John Kitson, and Penruddock the six clerk were engaged with Wagstaffe. They were joyed here that you release prisoners on bail, and especially for the Marquis of Hertford, who we hear now is at my Lord Capels and at liberty."

And after much gossip he proceeds:—

"I most heartily thank you for your care of my supplies, as also for the care you have had of me, in giving me safe addresse to you, and observing mine."

Then saying that letters may probably have to go by Calais, Zealand, or Holland, instead of Dunkirk, in consequence of the breach with Spain, he adds:—

"Once more I intreat you to let me have with the first, a letter of credit to lie by me for a dead lift."

Strangely ominous words! Manning was soon after detected, and being credited with this and other "dead lifts," received payment by execution. He was shot by order of Charles II., after some species of trial.

The next information of Edward Penruddock is after the Restoration:—

"State Papers, Domestic. A.D. 1660. Vol. xx. No. 84. *Peton of Edward Penruddock Esq. to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

The humble Petition of Edward Penruddock Esq.

Humbly sheweth

That your petitioners friends in 1632 procured a patent of the reversion of Mr. Robinson's office, one of the six clerks in Chancery and payed his late Majesty 2500£ for it.

In 1638 Mr. Robinson dying before your petitioner could obtain his admission into the office he paid* 5500£ more into the Treasury, which he borrowed at interest and yet oweth.

That in 1642 going with his late Matie to Oxford he continued there in his

[1] 4 Thurloe, 101.

* No. 85 has "he was forced to paie £5500 in."

service, and afterwards waited uppon your Matie into ffrance, from whence, after his late Matie's death, he was sent hither by * yor. Ma^rie's Commission to agitate and promote yor. ma^tie's affaires, wch. he did untill being betraied he was imprisoned 3 years in the Tower and often threatened with tryall for † his life, and escaped it with great difficulty, and after he gott liberty upon baile by himselfe and his Kinsman Penruddock and other his friends, he used his best endeavours to serve yor. ma^tie being 4 times after imprisoned and obtaining liberty upon bayle ‡ till yor. Matie's happy returne.

In 1643 Nicholas Love upon pretence of yor. petitioners absence with his Matie gott a grant of his office from y^r. Parliam^t. and by the profitts therof ever since § raised great summes of money wherew^th. he hath purchased a great estate in lands now (likely to be ‖) forfeited to your Matie for his treasons.

Yo^r. petitioner having never received any reward for his services nor recompence for his sufferings whereby he is ruined in his estate and being by the intended** Act of forfeiture of the said Love's estate likely to be †† left remedyless against him, which otherwise by law he might have had for the profitts of the said office amounting to 20000£ at least.

Humbly praieth yor. Matie. that by yor. favo^r ‡‡ he may have reparation for his said great losse out of the said lands, estate or otherwise from your Matie. in such manner as to yor. go odness shall seeme fitt

And yor. Petitioner shall pray &c."

"Vol. xx. No. 85. To the King's most Excellent Majestie
The humble Petition of Edward Penruddock Esq.
Humbly Sheweth &c." §§

Another edition of 84.

"Vol. xx. No. 86. [Endorsed] *Peton of Mr. Edward Penruddock for Mr. Love's estate in Norton in Com. of Southton.*
To the Kings Excellent Matie.
The humble P̄eton of Edw. Penruddock Esq.
Sheweth

That your Petitioner gave to the late King of blessed memory, ten thousand pounds for one of the six clerks offices, which he never enjoyed above three years, it being seized and kept by Nicholas Love for these eighteen years last past, upon the account that your petitioner tooke the part of your Matie's ffather, and your-

---

* 85 "with."

† 85 "of."

‡ 85 "But afterwards gettinge libertie upon Bayle he continued his best endeavours to serve your matie. being 4 times again imprisoned in (since) 1643."

§ 85 omitted.

‖ 85 omitted.

** 85 omitted.

†† 85 omitted; and "without remedy" instead of "remedyless."

‡‡ 85 "Your petitioner humbly praies yor. matie. that you would bee graciously pleased to graunt him some repairation out of the said estate, or otherwise what proportion your Matie. shall thinke fitt. And yor. Petr. &c,"

§§ Endorsed, "The Petition of Edw. Penruddock Esqre. for reparations out of Love's forfeited estates."

selfe in the late warrs. Now whereas Nicholas Love hath received above twenty thousand pounds of your Petitioners ffortune with which he hath purchased a great part of that estate which is nowe forfeited to your Matie. Your Petitioner hopes that since he hath ever ffaithfully serv^d^. and suffered for your Matie. it being now in your Matie's power to make him some reparation for his great losses.*

That your Matie would be pleased to consider him out of Love's estate to which he hath so good a Title both in Lawe and Equitie Particularly that your Matie will confer one Tenement or ffarme called Norton worth 240£ per ann. Lying in the parish of Wonston in the County of Southampton.†

And your shall ever be bound to pray &c."

Vol. xx. No. 87. A similar petition to No. 86.

The next concludes the story so far as he is concerned. State Papers Domestic, 1662-3, January :—

" Petition of Frances relict of Edward Penruddock to the King. States her case of distress, and begs £2000, or some pension to preserve her from ruin."

Annexed is :—

" Case of Frances, relict of Edw. Penruddock.

Her husband purchased the office of one of the six clerks in Chancery in reversion for £2500 in 1632, and gave £5500 more for possession of it in 1638, but Nick. Love obtained a grant of it, during the usurpation, und purchased an estate therefrom, which is granted to the Duke of York. Penruddock was promised satisfaction, but died before obtaining it.

January 23rd, 1663. Order to Lord Colepepper to pay £1000 to Sir George Penruddock for the Benefit of the widow and children of Edward Penruddock, late one of the six clerks in Chancery, who died after enjoying the place only a short time."

And thus His Sacred Majesty dealt with the prime agent and his widow.

How fared the family of Robert Duke? It is strange to read of his being sent to the East Indies, not "Barbadoesed" like the other prisoners, but this may be an error of the draughtsman of the petitions.

" State Papers, Domestic. A.D. 1660. Voll xx. *No.* 79. *Anne Duke's Petition.*

To the Kings most Excellent Matie.

The humble Petition of Anne Duke the disconsolate widdow of Robert Duke deceased in the East Indies Humbly sheweth

* 87 omits these words.

† 87 "will be pleased to grannt your petitioner a tenement or fferme called Norton and you petitioner shall be willing to pay forty pounds a yeare to whome your Matie, shall assign it, And be ever bound to pray."

That yor. petitoners husband, haveing bene engaged in the service of yor. Mat^s. father of blessed memorie, from the begining of the unhappy warre, wherein hee deported himself with fidelity and courage, whilst there continued any warres to assist yor. Matie's. interest; and after hee had suffered very much for his Loyalty he lately engaged with Collonell Penruddock in the West in order to yor. Matie's restoration, where he was unfortunately taken prisoner and condemned to dye, but by the intercession of his sister hee was reprieved from present death and condemned to perpetuall banishment into the East Indies, where he is lately dead, and the support of his family depending (under God) upon his vertuous industry, they are now left in a most miserable condition unless yor. Matie. would be gratiously pleased to comiserate the distresses of the widdow and children of yor. deceased loyall subject.

From ye consideration of the prmises yor. Petitioner hath taken the boldness humbly to pray yor. Matie. to graunt unto her a Lease of ffower score and nineteene yeares of that small Manor of Ellingham* in the County of Southampton and ye Lands called the Abbey Lands in ye parrish of Christ Church in the Countie aforesaid, lately in the possession of John Lisle and now forfeited to yor. Matie. for his being one of the execrable judges of y^or. Royall father of ever blessed memorie

And yor. Petiton^r. and her fatherlesse children shall ever pray, &c.

No. 80. To the Kings Most Excellent Maiest^ie.

The humble petition of Robert, Anne, John, Charles and Elizabeth Duke, children of Robert Duke of Wiltshire Leif^t. Collonell in his Matie's Army and lately deceased in the East Indies,

Humbly Sheweth

That yor. pet^rs. father haveing from the comencement of the warr served yor. Matie's royall father faithfully to the utmost extent of his estate and everr to the ruine of himselfe and family and being engaged with Collonell Penrnddock in the Westerne attempte in order to yor. Matie's restoration hee was unfortunately taken prisoner and sentenced to dye, but by the intercession of his sister was reprieved from present death but condemned to perpetuall banishment into the East Indies, where beinge cast upon a desolate Island there dyed with the loss of all hee had, the newes thereof broke the heart of yor. pet^rs. mother and their onely estate being for their two lives, yor. pet^rs. are totally destitute of present subsistence and must inevitably perish without yor. Matie's gracious and imediate releife.

From the consideration of the p^r.mises yor. pet^rs. hath taken the bouldness humbly to pray yor. Matie. to grant unto yor. pet^rs. A Lease of ffower score and nineteene yares of the Manor of Elingham in the County of Southampton And the Lands called the Abbey Lands in the parish of Christ Church in the County aforesaid (being of small value) lately in the possession of John Lisle and now forfeited to yor. Matie. for his treason, at such a moderate rent as may affoarde yor. pet^rt. some reliefe

And yor. pet^r. shall ever pray &c."

We may hope that this widow fared better than the last.

* The mention of this place calls up memories of Mrs. Alice Lisle, and her judicial murder by Lord Jefferies, for a supposed share in the Monmouth rebellion.

The following relates to another of the risers, Mr. Richard Arscott (of Sampford Courtenay, according to Desborough's list). State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. Vol. ii., No. 13 :—

"These are to certify all whom it may concerne that the bearer hereof Richard Arscott Gent. served under the late Lord Hopton during all the late warre untill the laying doune of Armes at Truro in Cornwall, and hath been in severall ffights viz: at Braddock, Launceston and Stratton, in all the seige of Exon untill it was reduced to his Matie's obedience, at Cherriton Doune, and both Newberry Battells, in which services he received severall wounds to the hazard of his life and since Duke Hamilton's comeinge into England with an Army hath beene employed as an Agent by the Gentry of Devon and Cornwall (his Matie's Loyall subjects) And that in Penruddock's business he appeared with Men, Horse and Armes raised at his owne charge. And also in S^ir^ George Booths raising Armes, he bought 300 case of Pistolls for the Gentry of Devon to be employed in his Matie's service, which Armes he brought out of Exon with the hazard of his life. He was likewise sequestered of all his estate both reall and personall, and at severall times suffered three yeares Imprisonmn^t^, and in Penrddock's business, was committed to the Common Goale by John Coppleston, then High Sheriff of the County of Devon, and tryed for his life by a Court Marshall.

That for his loyall and good affection, in prosecution of his Matie's severall services, he mortgaged to one Burgoyne 12 small Tenem^ts^. of his owne Inheritance for £400, which still lyes forfeited, and for the better carrying on of the said services he hath been enforced to borrow severall summes of Money amounting to £180 more, which yet remains unpaid

August the 21st 1660

J. Grenvile
Hawley
Tho. Stuckey
Hugh Pollarde"

The next is a petition of Marcellus Rivers and others :—[1]

On the 24th March, 1659, as the Grand Committee of the

[1] "On a motion that Major General Boteler be declared incapable of employment in any office, either civil or military in this Commonwealth

Colonel White [Wells], 'He is now said to have offended in a military capacity, but the military capacity has committed a rape upon the civil.'

Mr. Secretary Thurloe [Cambridge University], 'I think him a man of worth. The sentence too severe. The highest punishment next to life and he unheard. He had but secured the property of one engaged for Charles Stuart, who had since fled to him.'

Mr. Charlton [Ludlow], 'If this is not the highest offence what can be? Nor is this the highest punishment on this side death. Sending one to Jamaica or Barbadoes is much worse.'" April 12th, 1659, 4 Burton's Diary, 407—8.

Parliament, that ot Grievances and Courts of Justice, sat at Westminster, towards night a petition was preferred on behalf of "one Rivers, and one Foyle, and 70 persons sold into slavery in the Barbadoes by the Major Generals."

The petition concerned several members, viz., Captain Hatsell (Plympton), Sir John Coplestone (Barnstaple), and Mr. Noell (Liskeard); therefore the committee thought fit to proceed no farther in it, but report it to the House. At the same time the petition of another exile, Rowland Thomas,[1] was also presented, and a similar order made upon it.

On the following day, Colonel Terrill reported from the Grand Committee:—[2]

"The petition of one Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle as well as on the behalf of themselves as of three score and ten more freeborn people of this nation now in slavery in the Barbadoes; setting forth most unchristian and barbarous usage of them.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in Parliament, the representatives of the freeborn people of England.

The hmble petition of Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, as well on the behalf of themselves as of three score and ten more freeborn people of this nation now in slavery,

Humbly sheweth

That your distressed petitioners and the others, became prisoners at Exeter and Ilchester in the West upon pretence of Salisbury rising, in the end of the year 1654, although many of them never saw Salisbury, nor bore arms in their lives. Your petitioners, and divers of the others, were picked up as they travelled upon their lawful occasions.

Afterwards upon an indictment preferred against your petitioner Rivers, ignoramus was found; your petitioner Foyle never being indicted; and all the rest were either quitted by the jury of life and death, or never so much as tried or

[1] 4 Burton's Diary, p. 253—257. His price was £100, and that might have redeemed him. He was barbarously used, and made his escape. He dares not appear abroad lest he be re-delivered to captivity.

Barkstead (Governor of the Tower,) writes to Thurloe on the subject. (Th. St. P., vol. vii., p. 639):—

"Tower March 25th, 1659.

In obedience to your commands I have here inclosed sent you the copies of the warrant of commitment, and the other for the delivery to Mr. Noell, for transportation, neither of which being under your hand. Colonel Gardiner, Rowland, Thomas, Somerset Fox, Francis Fox, Thomas Saunders, were delivered on board the ship Edward and John of London the last of May, 1655 Colonel Gray and Mr. Jackson being then sicke, were not sent, and afterwards were released by his late Highnesses's warrants."

"Mr. Secretary is by this time in tribulation, and said 'I thought I should never have lived to see this day.'" 4 Burton, 260.

[2] 4 Burton's Diary, p. 255.

examined. Yet your petitioners, and the others, were all kept prisoners by the space of one whole year, and then on a sudden (without the least provocation) snatched out of their prisons; the greater number by the command and pleasure of the then High Sheriff, Coplestone, and others in power in the County of Devon, and driven through the streets of the city of Exon (which is witness to this truth) by a guard of horse and foot (none being suffered to take leave of them) and so hurried to Plymouth, aboard the ship John of London, Captain John Cole, whereafter they had lain aboard 14 days, the Captain hoisted sail; and at the end of 5 weeks and 4 days more, anchored at the Isle of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, being in sailing 4500 miles distant from their native country; wives children, parents, friends, and whatever is near and dear unto them; the Captive prisoners being all the way locked up under decks (and guards), amongst horses, that their souls, through heat and steam fainted in them; and they never till they came to the island knew whither they were going.

Being sadly arrived there on the May 7 1656, the master of the ship sold your miserable petitioners and the others; the generality of them to most inhuman and barbarous persons, for 1550 pound weight of sugar apiece, more or less, according to their working faculties, as the goods and chattels of Master Noell and Major Thomas Alderman of London, and Captain H. Hatsell of Plymouth; neither sparing the aged of 76 years old, nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men, but rendering all alike in this inseparable captivity, they now generally grinding at the mills and attending at the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nought to feed on (nothwithstanding their hard labour) but potatoe roots, nor to drink, but water with such roots washed in it, besides the bread and tears of their own afflictions; being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses and beasts for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping posts (as rogues) for their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in sties worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable, beyond expression or Christian imagination.

Humbly your Petitioners do remonstrate on behalf of themselves and others, their most deplorable, and (as to Englishmen) unparalleled condition; and earnestly beg that this High Court, since they are not under any pretended Conviction of Law, will be pleased to examine this Arbitrary power, and to question by what authority so great a breach is committed upon the free people of England, they having never seen the faces of these their pretended owners, merchants that deal in slaves and souls of men, nor ever heard of their names before Mr. Cole made affidavit in the office of Barbadoes, that he sold them as their goods; but whence they derived their authority for the sale and slavery of your poor petitioners, and the rest, they are wholly ignorant to this very day. That this Court will be farther pleased to interest their power for the redemption and reparation of your distressed petitioners and the rest; or if the names of your petitioners, and the number of the rest, be so inconsiderable as not to be worthy of relief or your tender compassion, yet at least, that this Court would be pleased on behalf of themselves and all the free-born people of England, by whose suffrages they sit in Parliament, any of whose cases it may be next, whenever a like force shall be laid on them, to take course to curb the unlimited power under which the petitioners and others suffer; that neither you nor any of their bretheren, upon these miserable terms, may come into

his miserable place of torment. A thing not known amongst the Cruel Turks, to sell and enslave those of their own country and religion, much less the innocent.

These things being granted as they hope, their souls shall pray, &c."

A very long and fruitless discussion ensued; but some statements appear interesting. These I will note as shortly as possible.

The first speaker was Sir John Coplestone, our old friend the Sheriff of Devon, in 1655, who said

"he knew the disadvantage of speaking against the petition.

Rivers had been Prince Maurice's quarter master, and was taken in arms in the business of Salisbury. He had counterfeited his (Coplestone's) name to a pass and was taken by a constable. On being searched, 15 cases of pistols were found about him [capacious pockets.] A young gentleman Mr. [Cary] Rennel then with him confessed they were going to the insurrection at Salisbury, but were prevented by its discovery.

An indictment was brought against him, at Salisbury but he [Coplestone] not being there was acquitted.* He had but followed his late Highness's order in sending to Plymouth those in custody who had been in the insurrection—what came of them there he knew not."

Nr. Noell next spoke, he said

"he traded into these parts. Merchants sent to him to procure them suitable artificers. He had thus sent several persons from the Bridewell and other prisons; all he had to do with those now mentioned, was recommending them to that Mr. Chamberlain [a very fair share].

He abhorred the thought of setting £100 upon any man's head and it was false and scandalous to impute this to him. He indented [executed a deed of service] with all those he sent. The work was hard, but none were sent against their will. When there, they were civilly treated, and had horses to ride on.

Those sent served most commonly for 5 years, and then had the yearly salary [?] of the island. The hours of labour were from 6 to 6 with four times for refreshing; the work was thus not so hard as represented; nor as that of the common husbandman in England. The work was mostly carried on by Negroes. It was a place grateful to trade with as any in the world, and not so odious as represented."

Sergeant Maynard said

"the present petition was a gross breach of the privileges of the house, and he would not speak to the matter of it, Cavalier as it was."

* No record of this. If he was before the Grand Jury at Salisbury, it is strange that his name is not mentioned by Attorney-General Prideaux, he would have ranked before Mackes and the Zouches. At Exeter a bill was preferred against him and ignored. (See Wilts Mag., vol. xiii., p, 272.) Mr. Cary Reynel will be found in Disbrowe's list, both he and Rivers belonged to Binstead, Hants.

Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, on the contrary, affirmed

"it was regular, and challenged all the Long Robe to answer him. If any one offered him a petition at the door against a member should he not present it?' And then he went on at length to the King's case, and petitions in general when"

Sir Walter Earle called him to order,

"as wandering but he agreed with Sir Arthur as to the presentment."

Others spoke on this point, and the Speaker said

"no grand or privilege Committee could receive any original petition against a member of the house, without committing a gross breach of privilege.

Then Mr. Secretary Thurloe lamented

"that he had ever seen the day when such petitions should be encouraged and gave some account of Rowland Thomas but none of Rivers.

Mr. Knightly said

"the complaint was not by Rivers but on behalf of several others, aged gentlemen, that had been taken up in their way and sold* He would have all petitions read as they came in.

Captain Hatsell said

"he was at Plymouth when those persons were shipped. He never saw any go with more cheerfulness. There were two old men and a minister. The last mentioned heard his (Hatsell's) name, and told him he did not wish to go. Whereupon he ventured to release him and another also for the same reason, and they went to their own homes. He gave bills of exchange at the rate of £4 10*s.* per man for their passage. The master of the ship told him Rivers pretended madness; and he was much troubled with him, and told him if he could make friends when he came over to pay his passage cost, he might be released."

Sir Henry Vane

"It is not a business of the Cavaliers but of the liberty of freeborn England.

To be used in this barbarous manner, put under hatches in darkness during the voyage and then sold for £100 this was Thomas's case.

All tyranny including that of the late king and those who would tread in his steps (as Cavaliers) was loathsome.

The object of the Major Generals, *i.e.*, to keep down the Cavaliers, was good, but of dangerous precedent.

Do not that which is bonum but bonè. (Lucr. II. 7.)"

* This reminds us of the kidnapping of Mr. Harrison in August, 1660, and his exportation to the neighbourhood of Smyrna; where he was sold as a slave. Fortunately he escaped after 2 years and returned to England—but too late to prevent the judicial murder of the Perrys; one of the strangest and saddest stories in our criminal literature.

Major-General Browne threw fresh fuel on the fire by discoursing of his personal grievances, (December, 1649).

Disbrowe and others followed against or for the reception of the petition.

Sir A. Hazelrigge was permitted to speak again to the matter of the petition, and he did so warmly in the following words :—

"The tenderness of liberty is great; specially in times of peace. We have had no war these 7 years. 'Twere a little rebellion, [the Rising in the West] and some suffered. Blessed be God we have had none since. These men deny that they were ever sentenced, charged, or in arms. Some were acquitted by ignoramus. These men are now sold into slavery amongst beasts. I could hardly hold from weeping when I heard the petition.

The Cavaliers case to-day may be the Roundheads to-morrow. Do you not remember the abhorrence of the Parliament of the hanging of a man by Martial Law in the French Expedition [1627]. I am no Cavalier but if our liberties are come to this we have fought fair and caught a frog."

And after a speaker or two[1] (one of whom told of the sending abroad of two or three thousand protestants—the Dunbar prisoners, 1651), General Ludlow said

"If the man had been in prison, he would not have moved for his liberty. The matter should be referred to a Committee."

And so the debate went on from hour to hour till "the chair broke through and rose without a question!"; but we gather from the above debate, what a wretched life those who went to Barbadoes experienced. Some appear to have been bound by deed to serve for

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[1] Clarendon State Papers. Vol. iii., p. 447.

Mr. Bever to the Lord Chancellor Hyde.

"The House is now upon a petition delivered to them from 50 gentlemen that were sold for slaves to the Barbadoes, by one North that belonged to his late Highness, and the Secretary Thurloe is accused for having a hand in it; whereupon Mr. Secretary said he had not thought to have lived to this day to see such a thing as this brought before a Parliament, that was so justly and legally done by lawful authority, and that for reasons of State they must find 200 men, who they had notice were come over. Sir Henry Vane made reply, that he must use his own words, that he did not think to have lived to see the day that freeborn Englishmen (by their own countrymen) should be sold for slaves by such an arbitrary Government. Mr. Secretary presses what he can to possess the House that there is a plot in hand, and therefore he would have the Parliament set out an Act of Banishment, but as yet it is refused; and further, he relates that whilst the Cavaliers are petitioning for redress to the House, they are plotting to destroy both His Highness and them; whereupon one made answer, that he did believe that gentleman that spake last, would bring all men under the notion of Cavaliers, that did seek redress for the injuries done them by this arbitrary Government.

This is all I shall trouble you with at present, but only that I am cordially Sir,

Yours, &c.

April 1, 1659."

(Mr. Bever apparently dives into the anonymous)

five years, as overseers of labour; others however were probably made to labour in the plantations or enter domestic service.[1] So far as

[1] In Dr. Calamy's Continuation (Vol. ii., p. 793), a letter from Jamaica, some years later, mentions that they had few other servants there than slaves kidnapped from Guinea, "except some from Newgate."

The following furnishes further information (See 4 Thur., p. 49):—

The Governor of Barbadoes to the Protector.

"May it Please your Highnes,

By my last bearing date the 3rd of this month, I gave your highness some account of the receipt of your missive unto me, bearing date the 13th of June [June 31st, says letter September 3rd; this letter does not add to our information about the prisoners]. In it your highnesse was pleased to take notice, that notorious delinquents and offendors sent to this island by your highness's express commands, here to remaine during your highness pleasure, have gone off this place, and returned back into their country, without warrant from your highness and council. Should I stand guilty of so high a contempt to your highness's authority, I should justly merit your highness's displeasure, and a censure suitable to so great a miscarriage; but having never received any commands from your highness, and from the lords of your highness's council, or any other order, that ever came to my hands, or have been signified unto me, declaring such persons to have been so sent, and prohibiting such being here not to depart from their place, until your highness's and councill's pleasure were made known, I humbly desire, I may stand clear in your highness's opinion as to any such miscarriage. Upon receipt of your highness's general order and commands therein, I caused the enclosed writing to be published throughout this island. Such persons as hitherto we have had brought to this place from England, Scotland and Ireland, prisoners of war, and others as servants have been brought and landed on merchants particular accounts, who for their passage, transporting them hither, and their disbursements on them, claim a propriety in such as they bring, with a liberty to dispose of them by assignments to the inhabitants of this place for a term of 4, 5, 6, and 7 years, to serve for the consideration of a sum of money and goods to them paid; which term of years they are assigned for, being expired, and the party assigned purchasing with money, goods, or credit, the term of years he is to serve by the law and custom of that place, is free to stay or depart hence. Having now received your highness's commands, such as your highness shall please to require to stay here, I shall, to the utmost possibility of means to be used, labour to keep them with us.

Here lately arrived colonel Gardiner, major Thomas and some others, whom from private hands I have received intelligence were prisoners in your highness's tower of London, and by order of your highness and counicil transported hither, to remain on this island until your highness's pleasure be further made known. I judge it my duty to let your highness know, that no such order or command hath as yet come to my hands, the same persons having applied unto me to know upon what account they are here, and by what authority here detained; myself and council having judged it ne cessary to confine them to a particular plantation within this island, from thence not to depart, until your highness's pleasure, as to the said prisoners, be made known to us.

Upon occasion of an enquiry I caused lately to be made of our present condition since the last fleet's departure, and the going off with them so considerable a number of our freemen, and finding the number of English, Scots, and Irish servants remaining with us to be considerable, and the major part of them such, as have engaged in actual service against your highness and the commonwealth; myself, and council, and commission of our militia, hold it our duty humbly to present it to your highness's consideration the danger this colony might fall into, by receiving in amongst us such persons of eminency (as we are informed are to be sent to this place from England), that are not only of dangerous principles, and ready disposition to act bold attempts, to the disquiet and trouble of the nation, but qualified with parts and abilities to seduce, corrupt and head our servants, and such others as have no freeholds amongst us, to raise and joine to our destruction; and do humbly conceive, if some of those already here were removed, being too many of malignant principles, that are too ready to kindle into a flame of disturbance by such fiery spirits, and such others prohibited to come here, it may much tend to the preservation and continuancy of this island's peace, as yet we do judge ourselves in a condition good enough to prevent any mischief from within, if those here, that are most likely to stir, have not such as is before expressed to come amongst them to head them; and so long as providence shall preserve the peace of our nation at home, we shall not much doubt anything of this nature here. And as for any danger to us from without, we are assured of your highness's vigilance and watchfulness to protect us.

Barbadoes,
September 18th,
1655.

Your Highness's most humble
and most faithful servant
Daniel Searle."

I have found no list of the prisoners who were sent to the West Indies, but

Rivers was concerned, this forced exile appears to have been illegal. The ignoramus should have given him his liberty; even if there were other charges which justified his detention, yet he ought not to have been transported without a trial.

And now we must form a judgement on the whole project, in which we are largely assisted by the following :—

*A letter of intelligence from Mr. Manning.**

"The designe was thus layd: A councill erected in London, consisting of earles, lords, gentry, lawyers, and divines, who have interest in all counties. The persons I cannot name, but have a care of Strafford, Earle, Pofromor, and Vaughan, lawyers, who designe all things.† Persons employed are sworne not to discover any of them, and seldome any of them know more than one, and those hardly one another. They sitt sometimes in the Temple, and sometimes in London. The first care was, to fix in every countie some considerable and active persons; this don, then to provide armes; which don, then to treat with some persons of the army and late parliament party; which C. Grey, sir H. Benet and Browne, were ordered to doe. The account they gave was, that the levellers would engage, and Fairfax with his party by States *i l d o m a n.*‡ Harrison, for Charles Howard, sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and all that gange, with many of the Anabaptists, which Char. Stew. [Charles II.]told mee. Now nothing but execution, which by some meanes was delayed, at wich Ch. Stew. [Charles II.] was impatient, and on several expresses brought by C. Maning, Seymore, J. Trelawny and Ross, and by Co. Pofromor, he sent Wilmot, Armourer, one Mr. Kalsey of the countie of Lancaster, and Mr. Harwood of Oxf. &c. The Savoy is the rendezvous, and Chases, in Covent Garden. Hen. Seymore, Progers, Denham, play the courtiers; the Ladies Thin and Shanon have their part, to carry letters, and goe up and down on errands. Ch. St. [Charles II.] with Ormond and Blase, goe into Zealand. The duke of York prepares in France for the West, Ch. Stew. for Kent, or the northern counties. All letters are to Hyde. Wilmot goeth to London, and so in to the north with Armourer. The earl of Shonbergh raiseth 2000 foot in Germany, pretending for France.

For the countie of Devon, sir Tricourteny, sir H. Polarde, &c. engage for 3000 foot and 800 horse, Sir Tricourtenay Sir H. Tichbourne, Jepson and Sanbarm engage with Wiltshire, Dorsett and Somersett, to carry 1500 horse to sir H. Lendol. For Wales, earl Carherry, lord Sherberry; in Salop, earl of

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in addition to Rivers, there were Henry and Joseph Collyer. Thomas was discovered in possession of arms in London, some weeks before the Rising, and sent to the Tower. See 3 Thur., pp. 87 and 95.

* Without date, but placed between April 7th and 9th, 1655. 3 Th. 355.

† I have not seen the original of this letter, and therefore will not at present attempt to follow the lawyers here mentioned, beyond saying that Vaughan may be John Vaughan, who in 1668 was created Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In 1654 he was acting as John Selden's executor, and was one of the donors of that great scholar's library to the Bodleian at Oxford. See Wood's Athen. and Foss's Judges.

‡ A name in cypher. John Wildman? Wilts Mag., vol. xiii., p. 124,

Shrewsbury, lord Menport, Sir Vincent Corbett, sir H. Thin,* sir Tho. Hares &c. Midland counties, lord Will. Parham, [Willoughby, of Parham] sir William Compton, sir Robert Willis, sir Thomas Littleton, sir M. Hubevairt, sir Richard Payne, sent over to them, sir Thomas Mackworth, earle of Oxford, earle of Northampton,. County of Worcester, Coventrie, Sam. Sands, Packington, sir Talbot Hendring, Touthet, Counts [indecipherable], &c.

Kent, lord Tufton, sir James Peyton, Thornill, sir Ja. Many Brochman, Washington, Judge Heath's sonn,s, Hales, and scarce one out.

Cressett r m f s of Armourer, mr. Philips of Willmott, you must be in apprehending as n m y ln st mr. Davison I forgott, and let all be mentioned in the seisure; burn all for a good reason, which for my oath I cannot tell you.

There is one Fowle in Feversham, the searcher at Devon, corresponding with captain Pain at Bolein [Boulogne], conveys your enemyes to and fro.

Letters are sent often in covers to mr. Booth at Calais, mr. Boove in Zealand, Shannes and Hawkes here."

Plenty of danger to my Lord Protector here. Many of those mentioned in the above letter were arrested, including Lord Willoughby, but Wilmot (Earl of Rochester) escaped, as was his wont.

And one other—the most interesting of all in conclusion—Some notes of Thurloe's on the Rising, and his reasons for advising the appointment of the Major-Generals:—

"Secretary Thurloe's memorandums of the plot in March $165\frac{4}{55}$, and reasons for erecting a new standing militia in all the counties of England.†

Their designe was a generall insurrection through the whole land at once for destroying the present power, and to restore againe the late kinge's sonne.

To effect this,

1. They excuse to their Kinge, that they came not into hym at his march to Worcester.

2. They settle a counsell here, and appoint agents, who might sollicit all their partye, and acquaint them with their motions; and soe ordered it, that all might knowe, and yet never above 2 of them speake together.

3. They raise and collect severall great summes of money, as well for the maintenance of C. S., [Charles Stewart] as carryeinge on the warre, and letters of privy seale were sent, &c.

4. They buy and provide great stoare of armes; some were layd up in a magazine here, and others sent up and downe in the countrye.

5. They labour to divide the armye, and to blowe up the discontent of all parties; wherein they imploy notable instruments, which doe their worke soe well, that a great part of the army should have mutinyed in Scotland, and beene

* Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, of Kempsford, Gloucestershire, whose wife is mentioned above with Lady Shannon. He was the father of Sir Thomas Thynne, the first Baron Thynne of Warminster and Viscount Weymouth, who succeeded to Longleat on the murder of his relative "Tom of the ten thousand."

† 4 Th., p. 132, November, 1655.

headed by col. Overton. This was managed by correspondence with the malignant partye, and I could name the persons, that wente betweene them, and this well known to some present. This was to have a little preceded their generall insurrection.

6. They had agreed their general posts in the nation, especially these; the north where Wilmott [Earl of Rochester] was to command in chiefe; in the west Wagstaffe; and in Kent he, that was firste to appeare, was the lord Tufton; his armes and furniture for his owne person was taken, and he was to be very well assisted both with counsell and souldiers; and London, Surrey, and Sussex, were to associate with Kent. There was besides sir Thomas Peyton, one col. Gardner and Weston much imployed in this particular association; and their way of masteringe the cittye and the forces therabouts was all agreed upon, and a very great summe of money undertaken for. Another post was at Shrewsbury which was to be the rendevous of Wales. Other posts there were of lesser consequence; as in Nottinghamshire about Morpeth, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and elsewhere.

The computation of their forces made by themselves was very great; many thousands in every place, they haveinge sollicited, and some way or other acquainted most of their partye with their intentions.

7. They contrive an assassination of the lord protector to precede all this, which they thought themselves sure of doinge, but directed it should not be executed, until all their other matters were ready.

8. Great store of commissions are sent from the pretended kinge, and delivered to several partyes, to raise horse and foot.

9. The pretended kinge promises to come to them in person at such tyme as they were ready, and to be in a convenient place for that purpose.

10. The whole party here carry themselves with confidence and boldnes, have frequent meetings by themselves; speake, and drinke and swagger, as if all had beene their owne, even to the terror of the countryes; and their confidence was such, that one of their agents said about a weeke before it broke out, that if he should discover all, it were not possible to hinder it.

11. All things beinge ready, the pretended kinge removes himself from Cullen, [Cologne] where his court then was, and comes into Zeeland waytinge for the good houre haveinge sent before Wilmott, Wagstaffe, Oneale and severall others to begin.

12. They had in their eye several garrisons as Portsmouth, Plymouth, York, Hull, Newcastle, Tinmouth, Chester, Shrewsbury, Yarmouth, Lyn, and Boston, and to possess themselves of the isle of Ely. This was their designe, and they made their attempt on the 12th of March.

It's true, it fell not out accordinge to their intentions.

The great reason of all was, the Lord disappointed them, and gave us occasion to say of them, *They conceived mischiefe, they travelled in iniquity*, &c.

Other subordinate causes were;

It pleased God to discover a great part of their plott; that they were traced in it. The instructions given to them were brought to hand, many of their forces were seized upon; some of their money; many, very many of their partye secured and imprisoned, who were to have beene chiefe actors; the army put into a posture, and moveinge up and down on purpose to prevent their rendevous, and very considerable forces brought out of Ireland.

Yet they rise in the West, &c.

That this designe was framed, brought to a ripeness, could not be but with a correspondency betwixt the bulke and body of this party. The pretended kinge would not have put himself in the face, &c., nor those he sent hither

They kept their meetings aparte.

The tyme when this attempt was made well with forein states. The designes of the army broken, and those at the helme awake and aware. These things must be the fruit of a generall consent.

These thinges which were in fact, wee had as good proofe as thinges of this nature will permitt; and after all this and this rebellion supprest, wee had new evidence that they were at worke againe.

This was the matter of fact; these were some of those grounds, which made his highness believe, that the whole party were infected.

He saw by this, what measure to take of their affections, and what was to be expected from them.

Some in the last Parliament did thinke them a very inconsderable number or company of people, without armes, that were scarce need of any army. It appeared otherwise. His highness saw a necessity of raising more force, and in every county, who might be ready upon all occasion, unlesse he would give up his cause to the enemy, and leave us all and the whole kingdom exposed to their rage and malice.

This additional strength must draw with it an additional charge. Who must bear this? must the well affected? what soe just as to put the charge upon those whoe are the occasion of it? This is the ground of the decimation.

The question is not, whether they shall be confiscated, or their lands taken, but whether they shall not be made to pay for the support of that force, which is raised to keep them quiet. And I think the act of oblivion is nothing to the question.

Just jealousie and suspition is enough to a state to do more than this; or otherwise they were without the means of their own safetie.

That there hath beene a just ground of jealousie it's more than evident.

Why to be continued to the future?

Upon the same grounds it was set.

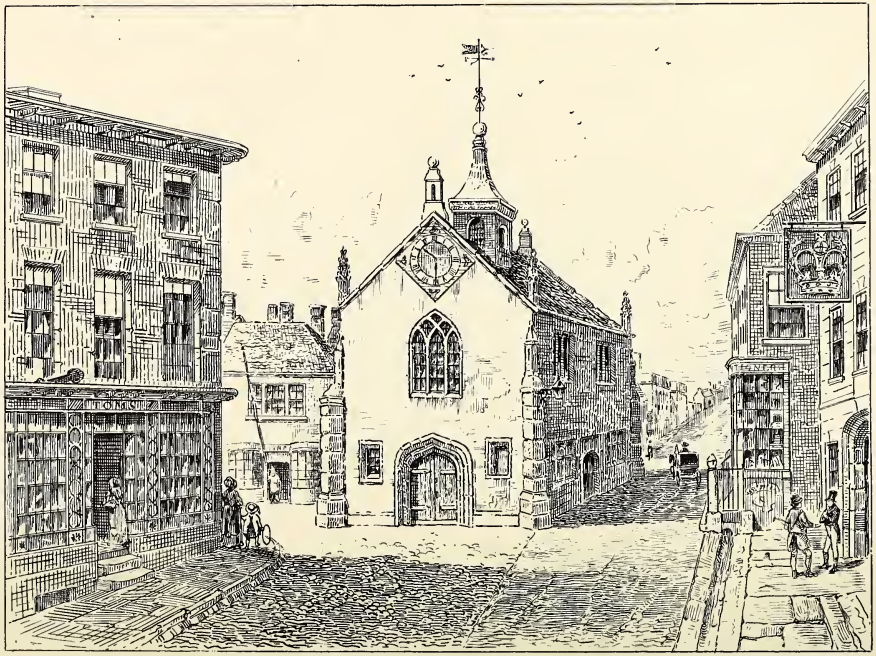
They discovered by their last insurrection. and what hath been sayd about it, what their intentions are, they are implacable in their malice; that noe act of grace or moderation will winne them; that they are men of another interest, which they can noe more cease to promote then to live.

Besides, they are now joyned in with a foreigne prince, and thereby the dangers from them is encreased.

The pretended kinge hath undertaken with the Spaniard, that his whole partye shall rise upon the first appearance; and they are now preparing themselves with horse and foot for that attempt—this is serteyne.

I think it is necessary for you not only to continue what you have, but to raise more; and I hope wee are not come hither to take of the charge from the kinge's partie, and lay it upon our friends."

It cannot be said after perusing the two last documents, penned by two men probably of all others the best informed— the one in the



John B. Day, Lith. 3, Savoy St., Strand, London.

THE OLD TOWN HALL AT CHARD, SOMERSET.

confidence of Charles, the other the "look-out man" for the Lord Protector—that the Risers in the West had not some solid ground for believing that success would attend them. The Protector's declaration, on the appointment of the Major-Generals, and the raising a force of militia throughout the country, which was published in the following October,[1] says they had engaged eight thousand men to rise in the west, and a like number in the north, and more in other districts; their object being to divide the army, which was then quartered near London, and draw it off to distant parts of the country. This reads feasible enough. And though as to the particular action which they eventually took at Salisbury, and the time, it might have been better to have done otherwise, and wiser to have waited till the country at large was more prepared; yet on the other hand, delay in such matters often brings ruin, and we may be sure that their proceedings were hastened by Wagstaff.

Their blood was one of the indirect causes of the Restoration; for the Rising brought out the Major-Generals, whose conduct certainly helped the fulfilment of that event.

Penruddock and Grove and their fellows deserve the high honor which they have ever since received, of having suffered for doing, what they believed to be their duty.

And the world went on its way, and Dorrington of Gray's Inn, wrote to Joshua Williamson, of Queen's College, Oxford, (Penruddock's College), of music for the Act (June, 1655, Commemoration) and ladies to come up for it, and silk stockings and other kindred pleasantries. But we turn aside to look upon the graves of the fallen; and to think of the poor widows who struggled to support the children of those who had died for "a worthy fame."

> "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> (That last infirmity of noble mind,)
> To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
> But the fair guerdon which we hope to find,
> And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
> Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears
> And slits the thin spun life—But not the praise.
> [*Milton's Lycidas.*]

[1] A copy of this, which was printed by His Highness's printer, will be found in the Parliamentary History, vol. xx., p. 434. It is too lengthy to re-produce here. Thurloe's notes (given above) no doubt formed the rough draft for it.

On Wiltshire Weather Proverbs and Weather Fallacies.

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A.

[Read before the Society at Swindon, September, 1873.]*

IT is not unfrequently remarked by foreigners, and that too with no little amount of ridicule, in speaking of the habits of the British people, that the Englishman's universal salutation to his acquaintance, his first and chief topic of conversation, when he meets his friend, is the *weather*; its past, or present, or future state.

Now not to mention what a very natural subject, and of what universal interest such a topic at once offers for what is by no means intended as a profound remark or matter for discussion; but only a civil friendly salutation, or an opening for farther conversation; it is worth while to remember of what enormous and general importance the state of the weather really is to us; what a vast difference it makes not only to the comfort and enjoyment, but to the well-being and prosperity of tens of thousands amongst us. For living, as we are, in a sea-girt island, and proverbially visited with a considerable amount of cloud, rain, and vapour in many shapes: [1] subject too, as

* This paper which (as read before the Society) chiefly related to the proverbs of Wiltshire, has since been considerably added to, more especially in the direction of illustrating and comparing our County proverbs with those peculiar to other parts of England, and with those of France and Germany. For this I must acknowledge my obligations to a little "Handbook of Weather Lore," by the Rev. C. Swainson (1873): and I am also indebted to *Notes and Queries*, *passim*, and various kindred works.

[1] A Frenchman once asked me at Lyons, seriously, and by no means as a joke, whether it was true that in England we *never* saw the sun, but were *always* enveloped in fog, "brouillard, toujours brouillard" as was commonly reported? I certainly did think that somewhat strong, coming from an inhabitant of Lyons, which, standing between two great rivers, the Rhône and the Saône, is, without any exception, the very foggiest place I have ever seen, and on the five occasions when I have visited it, there was certainly "brouillard, toujours brouillard," in every instance. Could any Frenchman say the same of five visits to London?

we are, to such a variety of changes in the state of the atmosphere, and these changes so constantly recurring, far more frequently indeed than in continental districts, as very slight consideration of the principles of atmospheric variation at once demonstrates to be necessarily the case; the state of the weather is really a subject of paramount importance to us; and while a cold damp raw day is a fair subject of condolence, a bright warm sunny day is unquestionably a legitimate subject of congratulation.

It is for the same reason, as I imagine, that proverbs on the weather have been so universal in the mouths of our peasantry; and now that the advance of education is driving away our folk-lore, and the vast accumulation of modern literature is thrusting out of sight the quaint old sayings, generally replete with wisdom and truth, though clad in never so homely a garb, which still linger in our country parishes, it is time for the archæologist to rescue them from oblivion, and to collect and store up these pithy maxims, the result of patient observation of Nature's prognostics; and which (I will venture to say), being founded on such true principles, are often more to be relied upon than the dicta of the Meteorological Society, with all its delicate and sensitive instruments, its barometers, its wet and dry bulb thermometers, its aneroids and ozonometers to boot: for these may be faulty, and deceive us, but Nature *never* errs, and if we can but read her aright, spreads out the page with undeviating accuracy.

Now the labourer, and above all the shepherd, employed all his life long on our open Wiltshire Downs and fields, has remarkable opportunities for studying the sky, and noting the signs of the seasons; and I have very often been amazed at the accuracy with which he can forecast a change in the weather, when to ordinary eyes not the slightest symptoms of alteration were apparent: but this is an instinct derived from constant observation; and, to a mind not overburdened with many thoughts, has become a habit monopolizing no small part of his attention. It is an instinct too which depends more upon prolonged experience than abstract reasoning; and it is an instinct shared, though in still larger measure, by many branches of the animal and even the vegetable world, beasts and birds and

insects and plants. Still let us be just to the humble countryman, who is not guided as these latter are, by a natural inborn instinct in regard to the weather, any more than his fellows are in other conditions of life: but let us allow him the credit he deserves for his careful and accurate observation on a subject which requires many years experience, and no little balancing of evidence, before an accurate verdict can be arrived at.

I proceed now to mention such of the proverbs as are in most general use among us, but I would premise that many of them are common to every other county in England, and some of them are in use throughout Europe.

How true is the well-known saying:—

"Evening grey, and morning red
Sends the shepherd wet to bed:
Evening red, and morning grey
Is the sure sign of a very fine day." *

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* This is perhaps one of the most universal wea ther proverbs variously expressed, throughout Europe. Thus elsewhere we have:—

"If red the sun begins his race
Be sure the rain will fall apace."

"If the sun goes pale to bed
'Twill rain tomorrow, it is said."

"Sero rubens cœlum cras indicat esse serenum,
At sî manè rubet, venturos indicat imbres."

"Rouge le matin
C'est de la pluie pour le voisin;
Rouge du couchant
Promet beau temps."

"Rouge du soir
Bon espoir';
Rouge du matin
Trompe le voisin."

"Abends roth ist Morgens gut;
Morgens roth thut selten gut."

"Der Morgen grau, der Abend roth
Ist ein guter Wetterbot;
Der Abend roth, der Morgen grau,
Bringt das schönste Tages blau."

"Morgenroth
Abendkoth."

"Rosso di sera
Bon tempo se spera;
Bianco di matina,
Bon temps se incamina."

And this:—

"Mackerel sky, mackerel sky,
Never long wet, and never long dry." *

And this:—

"Rain before seven,
Fine before eleven." †

And this again:

"A Rainbow in the morning
Is the shepherd's warning;
A Rainbow at night
Is the shepherd's delight."

Or, as it is rendered in the vernacular of our downs:—

"The rainbow in the marnin
Gives the shepherd warnin
To car er's gurt cwoat on er's back;
The rainbow at night
Is the shepherd's delight
For then no gurt cwoat will er lack;" ‡

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* Another cloud proverb, though unknown in Wiltshire, is:—

"If woolly fleeces spread the heavenly way,
Be sure no rain disturbs the summer's day."

† The following proverbs with reference to rain and wind are to be heard amongst our seafaring people on the coasts:—

"When the rain comes before the winds
You may reef when it begins;
But when the wind comes before the rain
You may hoist your topsails up again."

"When the wind is in the North,
The skilful fisher goes not forth."

‡ In considering this prognostic, it should be borne in mind that in the former case the rainbow will appear in the west, and in the latter in the east. The same proverb is in use also across the Channel:—

"Arc en ciel du soir
Fait beau temps prevoir;
Arc en ciel du matineé
Du laboureur finit la journée,"

But elsewhere in France it is differently read:—

"Arc en ciel du levant
Beau temps;
Arc en ciel du midi
Pluie."

The rainbow however has always attracted especial notice as a weather guide, though its intelligence is variously interpreted. It is also generally known throughout Europe by some term of endearment or title of honour, testifying to the universal reverence in which it is held. Thus by the old *Norsemen* it was called "Asbrû" or "The Bridge of the Gods." In *Lithuania*, "Laima's Girdle," the "weather rod," or "Heaven's bow." In *Catalonia*, "St. Martin's bow." In *Lorraine*, "St. Leonard's Belt," or "St. Bernard's Crown." In *Bavaria*, "Heaven's Ring," or "The Sun's Ring." In *Finland*, "Heaven's Bow." In *Croatia*, "The God's Seat," (Swainson's Handbook of Weather Lore.)

which is only our homely way of expressing the famous lines of Byron :—

> " Be thou the rainbow to the storms of life,
> The evening beam that smiles the clouds away
> And tints tomorrow with prophetic ray."

Then again how true is the old Wiltshire saying :—

> " When the wind is North-West,
> The weather is at the best:
> But if the rain comes out of the East,
> 'Twill rain twice twenty-four hours at the least."

These are general proverbs, applicable to all times; but we have an unusual number of proverbs in Wiltshire, which describe the evils of too advanced vegetation in a precocious spring : indeed on a careful comparison of all the Wiltshire weather proverbs with which I am acquainted, by far the larger portion refers to this fact; which is perhaps brought home to us in our confessedly cold county more than elsewhere.

In a healthy orthodox winter, the middle of January was looked upon as the coldest period of the year, and the Feast of St. Hilary[1] was in many places regarded as the coldest day, as indeed it oftentimes is. There is a proverb to this effect in the mouths of all Wiltshiremen :—

> " As the day lengthens
> So the cold strengthens."

But nothing is more deprecated than a mild January;

> " So hoch der Schnee
> So hoch das Gras,"

is the German way of expressing their appreciation of a hard winter : while we have :—

> " If the grass grows in Janiveer,
> It grows the worse for't all the year." *

---

[1] January 13th; O.S. January 25th.

* Exactly the same proverb prevails in Germany :—

> " Wenn's Gras wachst in Januar,
> Wachst es schlecht durch's ganze Jahr."

Elsewhere the same sentiment appears in the following proverbs :—

> " March in Janiveer,
> Janiveer in March, I fear."

And again :—

"A January spring
Is worth nothing."

"December's frost and January's flood
Never boded the husbandman good."

For February, we have :—

"Of all the months in the year,
Curse a fair Februeer."

This is strong language; but even this is preferable to the undutiful saying attributed to the inhabitants of Wales, who repeat :—

"The Welshman would rather see his mother on the bier,
Than see a fair Februeer."

The month of March again, or the "Marchen month," as it it often called in Wiltshire, is acknowledged as a spring month; and we repeat the saying, which endorses its spring character :—

"Saint Matthie *
Sends sap into the tree."

And the French express in another form the same sentiment :—

"Saint Matthias
Casse les glaces."

But yet no month in the year is so little trusted, and looked upon with such suspicion and misgiving as this: indeed all the proverbs

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"In January should sun sppear,
March and April pay full dear."

"If January Kalends be summerly gay
'Twill be winterly weather to the Kalends of May."

"The blackest month in all the year,
Is the month of Janiveer."

And in France :—

"Si les mouches dansent en Janvier
Le cultivateur devra s'inquieter de ses fourrages;"

That is :—

When you see midges in January,
Treasure up every bit of forage."

To the same effect in Germany :—

"Tanzen in Januar die Mucken
Muss der Bauer nach dem Futter gucken."

* Now February 24th, but O.S. March 8th.

we have upon March, without exception, indulge in a fling at its unhappy fickleness. Thus, in true Wiltshire language :—

"As many mistises in March,
So many frostises in May." *

And the well-known adage :—

"If March comes in like a lion, it goes out like a lamb ;
If it comes in like a lamb, it goes out like a lion."

And again :—

"Better to be bitten by a snake than to feel the sun in March." †

For April again :—

"A cold April
The barn will fill." ‡

And again :—

"April showers
Bring summer flowers."

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* The German proverb which corresponds with this, enunciates a somewhat different law :—

"So viel Nebel in März,
So veil Regen im sommer."

† Elsewhere the same horror of too genial a March finds expression in the following proverbs ;—

"March many-weathers rained and blowed,
But March grass never did anybody good."

"A wet March makes a sad harvest."

In Germany :—

"Märzengrün
Ist nicht schön."

"Märzenbluth ist nicht gut,
Aprilenbluth ist halb gut,
Maienbluth ist ganz gut."

In France :—

"Pluie de Mars
Ne profite pas."

And in Spain there is a proverb to the effect that :—

"A March sun sticks like a lock of wool."

The sobriquets "*foolish* March," and "*Many-weather* March," also show the estimation in which that treacherous month is generally held.

‡ There is a Spanish proverb that "A cold April brings bread and wine ; "—

"Abril frio
Pan y vino."

And in Germany —

"Ist das April kalt und nass
Dann wachst das Gras."

And again ;—

"April
Thut was er will."

And :—

"April weather,
Rain and sunshine both together."

And another, lauding the prolongation of the fierce winds of March :—

"When April blows his horn,
'Tis good for both hay and corn."

While even for May we have :—

"Mist in May, and heat in June,
Makes the harvest come right soon."

And again :—

"Who doffs his coat on a winter's day,
Will gladly put it on in May."

And again more generally :—

"Cast not a clout
Till May be out;"

that is, do not leave off your overcoat, till May is gone by.

And again :—

"Blossoms in May *
Are not good, some say."

And :—

"A May flood
Never did good."

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* Indeed "the merry month of May," so highly lauded,

"First of May
Robin Hood's day,"

seems to have been generally looked upon with suspicion. In Germany they have the proverb :—

"Wenn der Mai den Maien [the *White-Thorn*] bringet,
Ist es besser als wenn er ihn findet."

Even in sunny Spain there is the same caution against throwing aside the cloak in this treacherous month :—

"Hasta pasado Mayo
No te quites el sayo."

Moreover, just as we usually have a return of warm genial weather for a few days at the latter end of October, which we designate "*St. Luke's*" or the "*Indian* summer," so we often have a sudden return of cold in the middle of May. This is notorious enough abroad to find expression in the following proverbs :—

"Saint Mamert (May 11th), Saint Pancrace (May 12th), et Saint Gervais (May 13th),
Sans froid ces Saints de glace ne vont jamais."

So too the Germans have three "Ice saints," and say :—

"Pancraz, Servaz, und Bonifaz (May 14th), sind drei Eismänner."

June on the contrary is most approved of, when it is attended with copious rains :—

"A dry May and a dripping June *
Sets all things in tune."

Or, in another version :—

"A dripping June,†
Brings all things in tune."

While to mark that even yet a backward season is extolled, there is a saying :—

"Cut your thistles before St. John ‡
You will have two instead of one."

Every one of these Wiltshire proverbs, relating to the six first months of the year, proclaims the acknowledged fact, that a prolonged winter and a tardy spring bespeak more abundant crops and more assured plenty than the pleasant, however unseasonable, warmth which sometimes gladdens our hearts in winter and early spring. Nor is this belief peculiar to our county or even to England:[1]

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* It is strange that in some parts of England the exact opposite to this opinion is held, and no less stoutly defended by popular traditions, as for example :—

"June if sunny
Brings harvests early,"

"Calm weather in June,
Sets corn in tune."

"If on the 8th of June it rain
It foretells a wet harvest, men sain."

"Midsummer rain
Spoils hay and grain."

† "C 'est le mois de Juin
Qui fait le foin,"

‡ June 24th; or old style, July 6th.

[1] "Winter's thunder and summer's flood,
Never boded England any good."

"A late spring
Is a great blessing."

"Primavera tardida
Mai falida."

"If there's spring in winter, and winter in spring,
The year wont be good for anything."

it is held quite as much in the South of Europe; for the Italians have a proverb, "January commits the faults, and May bears the blame," and it is a common saying even in Spain, "A year of snow, a year of plenty." [1]

For the same reasons an early winter was deprecated, as likely to lead to too early a spring, according to the adage :—

> "If there's ice in November that will bear a duck
> There'll be nothing after but sludge and muck."

Moreover that such premature mildness of the seasons does not in reality advance vegetation, everybody who possesses a garden knows to his cost, and here again we have several famous Wiltshire proverbs, relating to this fact, and containing very weighty truths.

The one runs thus :—

> "Be it weal or be it woe
> Beans blow before May doth go."

Another says :—

> "Come it early, or come it late,
> In May comes the corn-quake."

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[1] "Année de neige
Année de bien."

"Année neigeuse,
Année fructueuse."

"Schnee Jahr
Reich Jahr."

"Anno di neve,
Anno di bene."

And so the Germans say :—

"Später winter, spätes Frühjahr."

And the Spaniards, that after a rainy winter follows a fruitful spring :—

"Al invierno lluvioso
Verano abundoso."

And the French :—

"Hiver doux,
Printemps sec;
Hiver rude,
Printemps pluvieux."

And a third:—

> "Plant your 'taturs when you will,
> They wont come up before April."

But again we have Wiltshire sayings which affirm what I believe to be an equally undeniable truth, that together with a prolonged winter, and a dripping spring, a dry summer is most to be desired by the husbandman. That however is a season we scarcely seem to have experienced last year (1873), when the old Devonshire proverb, applicable enough in that rainy county, might have been quoted with much truth, even here:—

> "The West wind always brings wet weather;
> The East wind wet and cold together;
> The South wind surely brings us rain;
> The North wind blows it back again;"

showing that from whatever point of the compas the wind blows, rain is sure to fall. That however, I am glad to think, is quite an exceptional state of things here; and it is very rarely indeed that we in this county experience so wet a summer.

To return to the point we were considering: we have an old saying in North Wiltshire, when snow lies about in the ditches, and does not disappear, that "'tis waiting for more:" and in truth it does betoken a cold atmosphere, and more snow very often supervenes.

Then *February* is known all over Wiltshire, as "*February fill-ditch,*" alluding to the seasonable supplies of water which should fill the ponds during that month, otherwise a scarcity of drink for the cattle during summer would be dreaded; and so our people have the proverb:—

> "February fill the dyke,
> Either with the black or white;"

(meaning, either with rain or snow.) To which some add the halting termination:—

> "But if it be white
> It's the better to like."

And there is another saying to the same effect:—

"If in February there be no rain,
'Tis neither good for hay nor grain."

In *March* we have, in addition to the saying of world-wide renown that "a peck of dust is worth a king's ransom," the less-known proverb:—

"A dry March never begs its bread."

Of the following month:—

"An April flood
Carries away the frog and his brood."

And for the excellence of drought, there is a saying reported by Aubrey as common all over the West of England "that a dry yeare never does cause a dearth;"[1] a maxim which, I believe, would be endorsed by most practical and experienced farmers: though another saying that "abundance depends upon having plenty of sour milk," (meaning, caused by thunderstorms) would not, I apprehend, be so readily allowed.

Amongst other traditional sayings about these first months in the year, which I have heard commonly quoted, is one which I have now for many years verified, and scarcely ever known incorrect; and that is that "there is always one fine week in February," a Wiltshire saying which I commend to the attention of all observers.[2]

[1] There is a proverb to this effect:—

"Whoso hath but a mouth
Will ne'er in England suffer drought."

And another:—

"Drought never bred dearth in England."

Though that might be interpreted in an ironical sense, as when an English summer has been described by a foreigner in a sneering tone, as consisting of "two hot days and a thunderstorm!"

In France however the same sentiment occurs:

"Année de sécheresse
A toujours fait richesse."

[2] Though the fact however appears to be correct, fine weather in February was not wont to be looked upon with favour, as the kindred proverbs in England and Germany testify:—

"When gnats dance in February, the husbandman becomes a beggar."

"Wenn in Februar tanzen die Mücken auf dem Mist,
So verschliess dein Futter in die Kist."

There is also another about the precedence in putting forth their respective leaves on the part of the oak and the ash trees, as a prognostic of the heat or wetness of the ensuing summer, whose accuracy I cannot say I have so successfully tested, though it *may* possibly prove to be generally correct:—

"Ash before oak: there'll be a smoke;
Oak before ash: there'll be a splash."

But there is another version of this proverb, which (though I must own it is less common in the mouths of the people) appears to me to be more truthful:—

"The oak before the ash, there will only be a splash,
But the ash before the oak, there will be a downright soak."

Certainly in the very unusually dry summer of this year, 1874, the oak in most places came into leaf some three weeks before the ash, and I have the authority of the well-known Naturalist, the Rev. F. O. Morris, for saying that the same was the case, more or less, in the years 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871, though he adds that any calculations which might have been based on the observations then made were overturned by the *data* of 1872.[1]

It will doubtless be noticed that the greater part of our weather-proverbs and season-saws have reference to the earlier portion of the year, and centre round the spring months. The remaining months of the year however are not wholly passed over; let us go on to consider some of the proverbs relating to them.

July was often designated "*plaguey July*," because in that month there is so much work for the farmer. Fine weather is now all-important, so the proverb takes the tone of entreaty:—

"No tempest, good July,
Lest the corn look ruely."

[1] The truth of the matter really seems to be that the coming into leaf of either of the trees before the other is rather the result of the kind of weather which has gone by than a sign of what is to come, except indeed in so far as after a very wet spring a dry summer might naturally be looked for, and *vice versâ*. For the oak tree thrives best in a dry time, just in the same way as corn requires so little rain, or almost none, the best harvests being generally after the driest summers. But the ash rejoices in a continuance of rainy weather in the spring, and earlier comes out into leaf when the season has been wet; for this tree, as is everywhere so visible, sends its roots always along the surface of the ground, while the oak strikes its roots straight down, deep into the earth.

And so of August, following the same strain, though negatively:—

"Dry August and warm
Doth harvest no harm."*

Then we have:—

"September blow soft,
Till the fruit's in the loft."

Of the remaining three months the approach of winter is the chief burden of the people's song. There is a saying that "If in the fall of the leaf in October, many leaves wither on the bough, and hang there, it betokens a frosty winter and much snow."[1]

There is another saying, of questionable morality:—

"Dry your barley in October,†
Or you'll always be sober;"

meaning, if this is not done, there will be no malt!

Again:—

"At St. Simon and St. Jude‡
Water may be viewed;"

signifying that winter now comes in.[2]

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* There is an old English saying "After Lammas (August 1st) corn ripens as much by night, as by day." While in France asserting the same conviction of the value of a dry season, at this period of the year, is the proverb:—

"Quand il pleut le premier Août
C'est signe qu 'il n'y aura pas de regain" (aftermath).

[1] So the German proverb runs, "Sitzt das Laub in Oktober noch fest auf den Baümen, so deutet das auf einen strengen Winter."

† Very often in the middle of October, a few fine days occur, and the warm weather of this season is almost universally known as summer.
In *England* it is called "St. Luke's little summer" (October 18th; O.S. October 30th).
In *France*, "L'été de Saint Denis" (October 9th; O.S. October 21st).
In *Germany*, the "Altweiber sommer," or the "summer of St. Gall" (October 16th; O.S. October 28th), or "of St. Martin" (October 11th; O.S. October 23).
In *Belgium*, "St. Michael's summer" (September 29th; O.S. October 11th).
In *Bohemia*, "The summer of St. Wenceslaus" (September 28th; O.S. October 10th).
In *Lombardy*, "L'esta de' Santa Teresa" (October 15th; O.S. October 27th).
In *Sweden*, "St. Bridget's summer" (October 8th; O.S. October 20th).
In *America*, "The Indian summer."

‡ October 28th; O.S. November 9th.

[2] The feast of SS. Simon and Jude is by many considered to be the first day of winter. Thus there is an old English saying, "On SS. Simon and Jude winter approaches at a gentle trot."

Again:

"At St. Martin's day *
Winter is on his way.

"On St. Andrew's day †
The night is twice as long as the day."

"Lucy light, Lucy light,‡
The shortest day, and the longest night."

Also:—

"St. Thomas grey, St. Thomas grey, §
The longest night, and the shortest day;"

corresponding with the kindred saying at Midsummer:—

"Barnaby bright, Barnaby bright, ‖
The longest day, and the shortest night."

There is another proverb in Wiltshire commending the advantages of a high wind in the autumn, which runs thus:—

"A good October, and a good blast
To blow the hog acorn and mast;" ¶

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* November 11th; O.S. November 23rd.

† November 30th; O.S. December 12th.

‡ December 13th; O.S. December 25th.

§ December 21st; O.S. January 2nd.

‖ June 11th; O.S. June 23rd.

¶ An *acorn* year was universally considered "a bad year for everything."

"Année de glands
Année de cher temps."

"Anno ghiandoso
Anno cancheroso."

So was a *bean* year:—

"Année de féves
Année de misere."

So was a *mushroom* year:—

"Année champignonnière
Année de misére."

"Anno fungato
Anno tribolato."

While a *cherry* year was highly approved:—

"A cherry year
A merry year."

I can offer no explanation of this quaint prejudice.

a maxim, which may be good in the swine's point of view; though personally, I should be more inclined to endorse the somewhat contradictory maxim of others:—

"No weather is ill,
If the wind bide still."

Then we have a very common tradition in this county that when the bushes are loaded with berries, a hard winter may be expected. This is a very beautiful opinion, for it betokens a lively faith in the Providence which prepares food for the birds in their time of need. It is well-known too in Scotland, where they have the proverb, which might well be taken for genuine Wiltshire:—

"A haw year
Is a snaw year."

But having said thus much, and called attention to the very charming theory it implies, I am bound to add that no augury must be drawn from it; as it rather betokens a fruitful summer just passed, than any severity of weather to be expected.

It will doubtless have been noticed what a very large proportion of our country weather proverbs have reference to agricultural pursuits, in which the people are so largely engaged. There are yet a few others appertaining to this subject, which should not be passed over. Thus:—

"Be sure of hay
Till the end of May."

But more definitely on so important a subject:—

"The farmer should have at Candlemas day
Half his straw and half his hay."

Again, on another subject:

"Look at your corn in May,
And you'll come weeping away;
Look at the same in June,
And you'll come home singing a tune."

Then:—

"When the sloe tree is white as a sheet
Sow your barley whether it be dry or wet."

Again :—

"When the oak puts on his gosling grey,
'Tis time to sow barley night or day."

And :—

"You may sheer your sheep,
When the elder blossoms peep."

"On the Feast of St. Barnabas,
Put the scythe to the grass."

"At St. Matthee,
Shut up the bee."

"Sow wheat in dirt, and rye in dust."

"Sow beans in the mud,
And they'll grow like a wood."

"On St. Luke's day
The oxen may play."

"On the first of November if the weather holds clear,
An end of wheat sowing do make for the year."

There is also the well-known proverb, addressed to the slovenly farmer and gardener :—

"One year's seeding
Is seven years' weeding."

And now I come to speak of certain popular weather fallacies, which, notwithstanding their general weather wisdom, beset our Wiltshire rustics, as well as others of more advanced education, in this and other counties. And the first point in this respect I would mention, is the common, though wholly groundless belief, that the *moon* has any influence on the weather. It is, in spite of all demonstration to the contrary, and without the smallest ground for such assertion, continually declared that a change of weather may be looked for when the next change of the moon occurs. This may perhaps be pardonable in "Moonrakers;" but in the cause of truth I must boldly and unhesitatingly declare that the moon has not, and cannot have, the smallest effect on the weather. But as this popular

delusion has become so engrained in the hearts of many, that notwithstanding the total absence of all argument or reason in favour of it, numbers of people of all ranks and classes still cling to it; it may be worth while to mention that with a view to allay such popular delusions, though without of course for a moment themselves sharing in them, some of the *savants* of France and others of Germany instituted a long series of careful investigations, the former continued during twenty years at the Paris Observatory, the latter during twenty-five years at Vienna. Both of these diligently carrried on the most rigorous examination of changes of weather in connection with the lunar phases; but the declared result of their accurately-kept tables showed that there was no connection between them, and in short, when theory was set aside, and the matter accurately tested, by many thousand facts, during a considerable period of time, it was definitely pronounced that "no correspondence whatever existed between the changes of the moon and those of the weather, such as were popularly supposed." The stock argument (if argument it can be called,) of those who uphold the moon's influence on the weather, is, that the moon does undoubtedly attract the waters of the sea; but *because* she causes the tides, which is demonstrable, *therefore* that she must needs influence the weather, which is by no means a parallel case, and for which there is no show of reason, I cannot conceive to be a fair inference. Perhaps it may be generally felt, (as a leading gentleman in this county once said to me in speaking of this subject,) "I don't pretend to argue the point, or give any reasons for it; I simply say I must continue to hold it, because, if you take away the moon as my guide to a change of weather, I have nothing else left to fall back upon:" or, as another eager advocate for the lunar influence (though himself by no means a lunatic) remarked to me, "I don't say that the weather alters exactly on the day of the moon's changes, but you will find it does so within three days before or after the change of moon:" a proposition with which I most cordially agreed, seeing that the moon changes once in seven days, and the "three days before and three days after" completely occupied the whole week; so after this fashion it would be strange indeed if the weather did *not* change within that prolonged period.

There is a very curious old Wiltshire prejudice against a new moon occurring on a Saturday, which (if not common in the county now) prevailed not many years since, but the origin of which, and the meaning of which, I am at a loss to conjecture: it is handed down in the following proverb:—

"A Saturday's moon
If it comes once in seven years
Comes once too soon."

Or, (as I have heard it) in another version:—

"A Saturday's moon
Come when it will, it comes too soon."

Scarcely less obnoxious to our rustic prognosticators was a full moon on Sunday, and they expressed their objection thus:—

"Saturday's change and Sunday's prime,
Once is enough in seven years' time."

But for a choice morsel of our broadest vernacular, let me commend the following to especial notice:—

"Saturday's change and Sunday's full
Never brought good, and never *wull*!"

Many other quaint superstitions did our Wiltshire "Moonrakers" of former days cherish in regard to the moon, to which the following proverbs testify:—

"Two full moons in a calendar month bring on a flood."

"If the moon change on a Sunday, there will be a flood before the month is out."

"Sow peasen and beans in the wane of the moone,
Who soweth them sooner, he soweth too soone."

"In the wane of the moon
A cloudy morning bodes a fair afternoon."

"The Michaelmas moon
Rises nine days alike soon."

Let me add as an antidote to these fallacies, the thoroughly correct proverb with regard to the *burr* round the moon:—

"If the moon show a silver shield
Be not afraid to reap your field:
But if she rises haloed round,
Soon we'll tread on deluged ground." *

Equally unfounded with their prejudices against a change of the moon on Saturday and a full moon on Sunday, though more easily accounted for, is the notion which prevails among our people that the weather on Friday differs from that of all other days: the saying is:—

"To every other day in the week
Friday is not alike;" †

a somewhat obscurely-worded sentiment: but doubtless it originates in the same principle which causes sailors to dread putting out to sea on a Friday, viz., the custom, once religiously observed, of keeping Friday as a weekly fast.

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* So the French say:—

"Lune encirclée, pluie prochaine;"

And we:—

"Clear moon
Frost soon."

† This remarkable fancy was also current in France and Germany, thus:—

"Vendredi aimerait mieux causer
Qu'à son voisin ressembler."

"Freitag hat sein apartes Wetter."

"Die ganze Woche wunderlich
Des Freitags ganz absunderlich."

So also was the notion (which however somewhat contradicted the last mentioned sentiment) that the weather of Friday and Sunday were commonly alike:—

"A rainy Friday
A rainy Sunday;
A fair Friday
A fair Sunday."

"Quel est Vendredi
Tel Dimanche."

"Freitagswetter
Sontagswetter."

Sunday however in some sense was supposed to rule the weather of the week, thus:—

"If it rains on the *Sunday* before mess [mass]
It will rain all the week, more or less."

"Regnet's *Sontag* über dass Messbuch,
So hat man die ganze Woch genug."

Leaving now the moon for awhile, I may class amongst common weather fallacies the very popular notion that wet or fine weather on certain days portends continuance of such, or indeed any special weather: as indeed the famous Naturalist, John Ray, two hundred years ago wrote to good old credulous John Aubrey: "I reject as superstitious all prognostics from the weather on particular days." This remark was called forth by Aubrey having written. "In South Wiltshire the constant observation is, that if droppes doe hang upon the hedge on Candlemas day, that it will be a good pease yeare:"[1] and then he added his own opinion, "This is generally agreed to be matter of fact, the reason perhaps may be that there rise certain unctuous vapours which may cause that fertility." I fancy however that we shall be more inclined to agree with honest John Ray.

Few however are so matter of fact as to pay no heed to the weather on St. Swithun's day,[2] for all know the proverb, couched in a variety of words:—

> "Saint Swithun's day, if thou dost rain,
> For forty days it will remain;
> Saint Swithun's day, if thou be fair,
> For forty days 'twill rain nae mair."

A proverb which has its counterpart across the Channel in the feast of St. Medard:—[3]

> "S 'il pleut le jour de St. Medard,
> Il pleut quarante jours plus tard."

And again another proverb fixes on a date midway between those just mentioned:—

> "If the first of July be rainy weather,
> 'Twill rain more or less for four weeks together."

If St. Swithun however is the patron of rain, St. Bartholemew

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[1] There is a proverb in Wiltshire to that effect:—

> "On Candlemas day if the thorns hang a drop
> You are sure of a good pea crop."

[2] July 15th; O.S. July 27th.

[3] June 8th; O.S. June 20th.

is that of fine weather, and in some places is thought to counteract and displace him, for the proverb runs :—

> "All the tears St. Swithun can cry,
> St. Bartlemy's mantle wipes dry."

Let it however, in common justice, be observed, that St. Bartholemew's day[1] does not occur until the expiration of the forty days following St. Swithun.[2]

Again we have :—

> "If Bartlemy's day be fair and clear,
> We may hope for a prosperous autumn that year."

But yet another proverb says :—

> "Saint Bartholemew
> Brings the cold dew;"

because the nights are now beginning to be cold.

St. Michael's day was also in old time, if not now, in Wiltshire, as it certainly is to this day in Sweden, a festival from which many prognostics of the ensuing season might be drawn: thus if a north or east wind should chance to blow on that day, the following winter would be very severe; if the day should chance to be fine, the next year would be dry; but if the day should be wet, the year ensuing would be mild but damp.[3] *St. Thomas's day*[4] was another festival, which was much observed by the credulous, for careful examination at the right moment would infallibly result in an accurate foreknowledge of weather for a quarter of a year! The proverb runs thus: "Look at the weathercock on St. Thomas's day at twelve

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[1] August 24th; O.S. September 5th.

[2] In various countries in Europe, the same belief of a *rainy saint* prevails, though differences exist as to the period of the particular day in question, thus:—

In *France*, St. Medard (June 8th) and SS. Gervase and Protasius (June 19th) have a similar character assigned to them.

In *Belgium*, St. Godelieve (July 6th).

In *Germany*, the Seven Sleepers (June 27th).

In *Poland*, St. Harold (July 19th).

In *Denmark* (July 2nd and 9th).

In *North Italy* (July 26th).

[3] Lloyd's "Peasant Life in Sweden," p. 283.

[4] December 21st; O.S. January 2nd.

o'clock, and see which way the wind is: there it will stick for the next three months" *Christmas day* too was another epoch worthy of observation, as the following wise saws show: "A windy Christmas and a calm Candlemas are signs of a good year;" "A warm Christmas foretells a cold Easter: a green Christmas, a white Easter."[1] And again on *New Year's eve* very anxious were the enquiries as to the direction of the wind, as from that token the weather of the entire coming year might be foreknown:—

"If New Year's Eve night wind blows South,
It betokeneth warmth and growth;
If West, much milk and fish in the sea,
If North, much cold and storms there'll be;
If East, the trees will bear much fruit,
If North-East, flee it man and brute."

The festival of the *Conversion of St. Paul*[2] was another day from which accurate prognostics of coming seasons might be framed, and not only of the seasons but even of the welfare of the nation. The rhymes run thus:—

"If St. Paule's daie be faire and clear,
It doth betide a happy yeare;
But if perchance it then should raine,
It will make dear all kinds of graine:
And if the clouds make dark the skie,
Then neate and fowls this yeare shall die;
If blustering winds doe blowe aloft,
Then war shall vex the realm full oft."

But the *Feast of Purification*[3] was perhaps the most noted, as a day by which to foretell the coming weather. This is embodied in the following well-known monkish legend to the effect that a bright sun on the Feast of the Purification betokens more frost *after* than *before* that festival:—

"Si sol splendescat Mariâ Purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante."*

[1] These prognostics from the state of the heavens on Christmas day are carried to a great extent in Russia, where they have a proverb that "a dark Christmas foretells that cows will give much milk; and a bright Christmas that hens will lay well."

[2] Jauuary 25th; O.S. February 6th.

[3] February 2nd; O.S. February 14th.

* Sir Thomas Brown's "Vulgar Errors," edit. folio., London, 1646, p. 289.

A proverb which has thus found its way into English :—

"If Candlemas day be fair and bright,
Winter will have another flight;
But if Candlemas day be clouds and rain,
Winter is gone and will not come again." *

I must also call attention to the remarkable prejudice against *Leap-year*, a prejudice as common and as widely spread as it is unfounded. It is popularly supposed that neither children nor domestic animals born in that year will thrive, and that neither

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* There are other well-known proverbs founded on the state of the weather at this festival, as :—

"If Candlemas day be fair and clear,
There'll be two winters in the year."

"When the wind's in the East on Candlemas day
There it will stick till the second of May."

And of the prevalence of cold at this period of the year :—

"At Candlemas
Cold comes to us."

As in Germany, with equally feeble rhyme :—

"Lichtmess
Winter gewis."

Other popular notions with regard to certain days might be mentioned, though not rife in this county, *e.g.* :—

"A good deal of rain on Easter day
Gives a crop of good corn, but little good hay."

"When Easter falls in our Lady's lap (March 25th),
Then let England beware of a rap."

"If it thunders on All Fools day (April 1st),
It brings good crops of corn and hay."

Very curious too is the fancy with regard to the weather on the moveable feasts of Ascension, Trinity, Pentecost, &c. :—

"If it rain on Ascension Day ever so little, it foretells scarcity and murrain, but if it be fair, then the contrary, and fine weather to Michaelmas."

"Ascensionis vel modicæ pluviæ pabuli inopiam, serenitas copiam signant."

"S 'il pleut le jour de l' Ascension
C 'est comme du poison.'"

"Penticostis pluviæ nil boni signant."

"S 'il pleut le jour de la Trinité,
Il pleut tous les dimanches de l'année."

"Ist es Corporis Christi Klar
Bringt es uns ein gutes Jahr."

"Corporis Christi serenitas laudatur."

grafts nor young shoots will come to their full growth. So we have the Wiltshire proverb :—

"Leap year
Never was a good sheep year." *

I need scarcely say that these are all popular delusions, founded on no reliable basis, though doubtless they do occasionally, however unfrequently, by accident, come true; and then they attract unmerited attention, and are held up to admiring disciples as infallible weather-guides.

One thing however seems quite certain, and that is that if our obervations are recorded through a long period of time, there will be found to be a balance of averages, both as regards heat and cold, and wet and dry weather: and in short the general average through the whole period will be found to be maintained.

So true is another Wiltshire proverb :—

"No one so surely pays his debt,
As wet to dry, and dry to wet;"

or, as they have it in Scotland :—

"Lang foul, lang fair."

More or less accurate too, as generally founded on experience, are other common proverbs we have with reference to rain and wind; thus :—

"The winds of the day time wrestle and fight
Longer and stronger than those of the night."

"A sunshiny shower
Never lasts half-an-hour."

"Sunshiny rain
Will soon go again."

"When the wind is in the South
It is in the rain's mouth."

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* In France we find the pithy proverb : –

"Année bissextile
Année infertile."

"When the wind veers against the sun
Trust it not, for back 'twill run."

Not so accurate, I think, is another, though it is the exclusive property of the inhabitants of this county, and was certainly implicitly believed in by our ancestors:—

"When the hen doth moult before the cock,
The winter will be as hard as a rock;
But if the cock moult before the hen,
The winter will not wet your shoes' seame;"

a proverb as poor in rhyme as in reason, though doubtless to be honored for its antiquity, as also because it belongs to Wiltshire.

Highly poetical too are some of our weather-proverbs, and betoken no little sentiment in the minds of those who use them; such is the really beautiful notion:—

"The dews of the evening industriously shun,
They're the tears of the sky for the loss of the sun."

And again:—

"The sun sets weeping in the lowly West
Witnessing storms to come, woe and unrest."

Such again is the saying, when it rains on All Souls Day:—[1]

"The dead are weeping."

And the apostrophe to April may be mentioned:—

"Hail, April, true Medea of the year,
That makes all nature young and fresh appear."

There is also a saying current in this county, as elsewhere, to the effect that "a green Christmas makes a fat churchyard."[2] This I believe to be wholly a mistake, and that on the contrary the milder the Christmas the more healthy for the human race, as was indeed triumphantly proved by the returns of the Registrar-General in the winter of 1872-3. But to show the pertinacity, and I may say the

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[1] November 2nd; O.S. November 14th.

[2] In Germany this proverb is applied to May, "Heissen Mai macht den Kirchhof fett," and is another instance of the suspicion with which a prematurely early summer was regarded.

unreasoning tenacity with which the Wiltshire labourer will cling to any old saying handed down to him from his fathers: I was opposing the above proverb, which an old man quoted to me at the beginning of the year 1854, and expressing my disbelief in it, though not at all to his conviction: and in the summer I recalled to his recollection the same proverb, remarking that we had had unusually few deaths in the parish that year, to which he replied, "Wait a bit, Sir, the year isn't come to an end yet: but before the end of the year, after the battles of Alma and Inkermann had taken place, he came to me with triumph in his face, and said, "I told you, Sir, the proverb would come true; the green Christmas last year *has* made a fat churchyard, for see how many poor fellows have been killed in the Crimea." After this nothing more was to be said; with the *rationale* of the proverb he had nothing to do: it had come true, and that was all that concerned him; and he is is now a firmer believer than ever in that ancient tradition.

And now let me say a word about almanacks which pretend to foretell the weather. It is perfectly marvellous how gullible is John Bull, eager to swallow any prognostics, be they never so unreliable; if only their authors are bold enough to be decisive in their predictions: and when in the year 1838, by a fortuitous coincidence, "an adroit Hibernian" (as he has been happily styled), named Patrick Murphy, accurately foretold the coldest day of the season (which from the law of chances *must* occur occasionally within a great number of conjectures), the rage for weather almanacks rose to its height; the wildest predictions were hazarded; and though their failures were generally manifested, nothing would convince the determined believer; and I myself knew of a case where an agriculturalist on a small scale, with more credulity than wisdom, wrote to the Editor of the almanack to which he pinned his faith, and entreated him to name the most fortunate day for wheat-sowing! In justice to Wiltshire let me hasten to add that this man was a native and inhabitant of Somersetshire. I suppose too it is allowable to presume there is a larger amount of Bœotian dulness to be found in the more western counties, as the famous Lord Thurlow once remarked, after holding an assize at Bodmin, in Cornwall, "That the

farther West he went, he was more and more convinced that the wise men came from the East!"

Now let me in conclusion assure the inhabitants of Wiltshire that the almanack makers know nothing about it, and that the time is not yet come, when

> "Careful observers might foretell the hour
> By sure prognostics when to dread a shower."

If they rely on the almanack makers, or the moon, and leave their umbrella at home in consequence, they will infallibly be drenched, as they deserve to be: whereas if they listen to the experience of the labourer or the shepherd; still better, if they use their own eyes and judgments, and observe the sky, and the clouds, and the wind; not forgetting the plain lessons read to them by many branches of the animal world, in this particular, they will rarely be led astray. The signs to be derived from the animal world are very numerous and very reliable; and are much observed amongst our people in consequence. As examples of the most common in this county they will tell you that seldom indeed will a wet day be found to follow, when in the morning cows are seen lying down in their pastures; still more seldom when rooks are noticed high in the air, or swallows are seen at a great height hawking after flies: but rarest of all when three white butterflies are seen together, in the garden or field; the latter a sure sign of a fine day which I have hardly ever known to fail. They will tell you on the other hand that when the distant downs look near;[1] or the Common Plover or Peewit, which frequents our downs in such numbers, becomes restless; or the bees hurry home, and none leave the hive; or partridges grow wild; or sea-gulls make their appearance so far inland; or pigs carry straw in their mouths; or insects fly low; rain is at hand.

These are but samples of many similar instances of unfailing instinct in regard to weather, which every student of Nature admires in the various branches of the animal kingdom. Perhaps I may

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[1] Darwin, in his "Zoonomia," thinks the presence of vapour in the air increases its transparency, on the same principle as saturating a white opaque sheet of paper with oil renders it transparent.

return to this part of the question another day. I will conclude now with the clever lines of Dr. Jenner, which sum up the matter very accurately :—

"The hollow winds begin to blow,
The clouds look black, the glass is low:
The soot falls down, the spaniels sleep,
And spiders from their cobwebs creep;
Last night the sun went pale to bed,
The moon in halos hid her head:
The boding shepherd heaves a sigh,
For see a rainbow spans the sky;
The walls are damp, the ditches smell,
Closed is the pink-eyed pimpernel;
The squalid toads at dusk are seen,
Slowly crawling o'er the green;
Loud quack the ducks, the peacocks cry,
The distant hills are looking nigh;
Hark, how the chairs and tables crack,
Old Betty's joints are on the rack:
And see yon rooks, how odd their flight,
They imitate the gliding kite,
Or seem precipitate to fall
As if they felt the piercing ball;
How restless are the snorting swine,
The busy flies disturb the kine;
Low o'er the grass the swallow wings,
The cricket too, how sharp she sings,
Puss on the hearth with velvet paws,
Sits wiping o'er her whiskered jaws;
The wind, unsteady, veers around,
Or settling in the south is found:
The whirling wind the dust obeys,
And o'er the rapid eddy plays;
The leech disturbed is newly risen
Quite to the summit of his prison;—
'Twill surely rain, I see, with sorrow,
Our jaunt must be put off to-morrow."

The Names of Places in Wiltshire.

By the Rev. Prebendary W. H. Jones, F.S.A.,
Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

(Continued.)

II.—On the Teutonic Element in Wiltshire Local Names.

36. In an essay published in the pages of this Magazine an attempt has already been made to explain those Names of Places in Wiltshire which are derived from a Celtic source, and so illustrate the times when Britons occupied this country. We proceed now to speak of those which belong to a later period, introduced at the first by the Anglo-Saxon settlers, in which is contained what is usually termed the Teutonic element. From circumstances which are easily understood, these are far more numerous than any others in our local nomenclature. An occupancy of the country, by themselves and their descendants, for more than fourteen centuries, has enabled them literally to "call the land after their own names." Though both in our ordinary speech, and, as we have shewn, in our River-Names, there is a strong Celtic element, yet from the Anglo-Saxon is derived the staple of our present language, and hence naturally enough comes also the principal portion of the Names of Places.

In this part of our enquiry we tread on much firmer ground. The valuable collection of Anglo-Saxon Charters still preserved to us, some dating from as early a period as the seventh century, enables us with far greater accuracy to come to a conclusion as to the original forms, and consequently the meaning, of the names. Many of the charters are no doubt but copies of the originals, made often by scribes who were evidently ignorant of the language in which the land-limits of estates are usually given; still, with all these drawbacks, no one can study these charters which relate to a county with which he is himself familiar, without perceiving what a flood of light is poured forth by them on the meaning of names, without

which in many cases he must simply trust to some guess more or less happy, or leave them altogether unexplained.

It is still necessary here, as in the previous essay, to come to conclusions with much caution. Even in Anglo-Saxon charters, especially when they are not originals but copies, we meet with names evidently in a corrupt form. To draw inferences too readily from the entries in Domesday Book is unsafe; the Norman scribes spelt the names as best they could, and the effect of their own language on the Anglo-Saxon is evident even in that early record. The influence of centuries moreover has been at work in changing the form, or modifying the pronunciation, of a name, till at last it becomes so disguised that hardly a trace of its true origin remains. The well-known tendency of names when corrupted to assume a feasible form, the counterfeit in fact being specious enough and looking just like sterling coin, is most misleading. Every careful student of Local Nomenclature must often feel suspicious of interpretations that are accepted readily—and, strange as it may seem, almost for the very reason that they *are* apparently so self-evident.

37. As an illustration of my meaning I will give one or two examples :—

(*a*) Sometimes names *derived from the same source assume very different forms*. Thus the Anglo-Saxon *Fearn-dún* becomes FARRINGDON, whilst *Fearn-lege* becomes FAR-LEGH, and *Fearn-ham* retains almost its original form in FARN-HAM. Again the Anglo-Saxon *Stán-ford, i.e.*, the stone, or paved, ford, becomes STOW-FORD; whilst the compound *Stán-ford-tún* (*i.e.*, the village by the Stone-ford) becomes softened down to STA-VER-TON.

(*b*) In other cases names *derived from different sources assume similar forms*. Thus UPTON is the name of two villages at no great distance from each other not far from Warminster. One of them, Upton Scudamore, is literally the "Up (=upper) Town" or village, and is sometimes called the "North Town." The other UPTON LOVELL is a contraction of *Ubban-tún, i.e.*, "Ubba's Town," and so a memorial of a celebrated Danish chieftain, or at all events of his name-sake. Another good instance is in the name WOOLLEY, which

is met with *three* times in my own neighbourhood; *first* as the name of a large tithing, where, from an ancient spelling *Wlf-leg*, it is clearly the memorial of *Ulf*, an owner in the time of the Confessor, —*next* as the name of a street in Bradford-on-Avon, where it is a corruption of *Tooley*, itself a contraction of *St. Olave*, to whom a chapel was dedicated in the street—just as Tooley Street, in Southwark, is so called from the church of St. Olave which is situated in it,—and *lastly* as the name of a small parish connected with that of Bathwick, where, if we may draw conclusions from an old spelling *Wilege*, the name is certainly to be sought for in a source perfectly distinct from the other two.[1]

(*c*) Then of course there are cases here, as with Celtic Names, in which *the original has been so altered as to defy the happiest conjecture.* Among such apparently hopeless corruptions—stereotyped I fear in many instances by those who compiled the Ordnance Map for Wilts, and who would have been better friends to Philologists if they had taken with them some some one acquainted with the dialect of the county—is what now appears as CHICK CHANGLES wood, in the parish of East Overton. It is now some years ago, when, in company with the late lamented Dr. Thurnam, I went over the bounds of this parish, and we were both convinced that it was undoubtedly the *Scythangra* spoken of in the charter relating to it (Cod. Dipl., 1120), a name that might fairly be Englished as *Shothanger*, and which means literally the *"shooting"* or sloping *"hanger," i.e.*, wood, on the declivity of a hill.

38, Such names as we are now about to consider are generally composed of two members, the one, which for the most part forms the termination, being a *generic* term, applicable to a number of places of a similar character, and denoting the nature of the settlement or neighbourhood to be described—the other a *specific* term,

[1] The Domesday Name *looks* as though it were connected with the Anglo-Saxon *wileg* (=willow). There is however a charter relating to CHARLCOMBE, the neighbouring parish, (Cod. Dipl. iii., 455,) in which we meet with this passage, "Of Ceólles-cumbeést . . . tó ðám *weallon*" *i.e.*, "From Chelscombe east . . . to the *wells*" (=springs);—if this be meant for WOOLLEY, and it certainly is a very probable conjecture, that name really, like *Wellow*, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *weall* (or *wille*) a "spring (or *well*) of water."

limiting the meaning to a particular portion of such settlement or neighbourhood. The difference between the Celtic and Teutonic languages in respect of compound names has already been noticed (see above § 2), and therefore the remark need not here be repeated or exemplified.

In speaking of one class of Celtic Names—those comparatively few, in which to a word found in use the Teutonic settlers added their own terminations (see above § 3 *c.*)—we assumed that the general purport of such "endings" was understood. Now however that we are discussing names, in which one or other of them almost invariably occurs, it will be well to give a more exact account of the meaning of those which are most common.

Tún. This ordinarily in terminations assumes the form of *Ton.* The word originally denotes any *enclosure*, great or small. From it is derived the verb *tynan* (= to enclose). Hence the Wiltshire words *Garston*, (*gærs-tún*) literally "grass-enclosure," and *Tining*, which denotes "enclosed ground." The word is applied to areas of the most varying extent, a garden, a court, a village, a town. In most cases perhaps our word "village" would be its best interpretation. Indeed what in our authorized version of the Bible is translated "go ye into the *village* over against you, &c." (Luke xix., 30), is in Tyndale's version (1526), translated "goo ye into the *toune*, &c." The village of Bethany moreover is called (John, xi., 1) "the *town* of Mary and her sister Martha." The very common word Barton, which is applied to the buildings enclosed within a rick-yard, and also to any small enclosed court or yard, is originally *Bere-tún, i.e.*, literally corn-town or enclosure.

39. *Ham.* This word also, like the preceding, means that which surrounds, encloses, *hems*, or defends something. The word itself occurs as a local name—spelt in the charter Hamme (Cod. Dipl., 1220)—on the eastern border of the county, not far from Hungerford. Leo tells us, that, according to Grimm, it is connected with an obsolete root *himan*, which must have signified to "enclose." He adds, from Outzen's

"Glossary of the Frisian Language," the following statement: "*Ham* applies to every enclosure by rampart, ditch, or hedge. In the country of the Angles as well as in North Friesland every enclosed place is called a *hamm*." And from another authority he quotes these words: "Whatever obstructs or is obstructed, *hems* in or is *hemmed* in, is called *hamm* or *hemme*, whether it be a forest, a fenced field, a meadow, a swamp, a reed-bank, or isolated lowlands won by circumscribing with palisades an area in the bed of a river; indeed even a house, or a castle, was so called by the Frisians.[1]

Hám. It is very important to distinguish between this word with *its accented vowel* and that which has just been explained. This word, as Kemble remarks, denotes "something far more sacred and profound, and is the most intimately felt of all the words by which the dwellings of man are distinguished." From it is derived the word *hæman*, which in its purest sense signifies to "marry," and so represents to us the family itself, and the sanctity of *home*, as well as the subsequent union of several families. Kemble adds these important words: "*Hám* in its largest sense implies the general assemblage of the dwellings in each particular district, to which the arable land and pasture of the community were appurtenant, the *home* of all the settlers in a separate and well-defined locality, the collection of the houses of the freeman. Wherever we can assure ourselves that the *vowel is long*, we may be certain that *the name implies such a village* or community."[2]

40. *Wíc.* This word in composition usually means a dwelling-place of one or more houses. The general idea would seem to be that of a place fenced and fortified, shut in and so a place of security. There are still woods and copses known as *wicks*. In such words as Sand-*wich* it would seem to have the sense of a "harbour." From this idea of harbour or shelter comes the sense of camp, or village, or hamlet and even of castle. In military history "they encamped" is

[1] Anglo-Saxon Names of Places, p. 39.

[2] Cod. Dipl. iii., xxix

"*wicodon,*" when they quit the camp it is "*of wicum.*" In Wright's Vocabularies, *Castellum* is thus explained (p. 94): "*wic* vel *lutel-port,*" that is, it means "a wick or a little town" (fortified). Now the *wic* or *lutel-port* was a group of houses fenced round with a ditch and mound stockaded a-top. After the Conquest the military sense of *wíc* was forgotten and it retained only the sense of residence. In Layamon (Anno 1200) we have *wikien* (= to dwell) and *wickinge* or *wickeninge* (= a dwelling). Archæol. Journal, xvii., 103. It is, as has been already mentioned (§ 2) the Greek οἶκος, the Latin *vicus,* the Celtic *gwic,* and the Anglo-Saxon *wíc,* and it is difficult to assign the priority to any of them.[1]

Buruh, Burh, Byrig. These words commonly appear as the terminational form *bury,* as in West-*bury,* Rams-*bury,* &c. The general sense of this word is what we now call a *Town* or *Borough.* Kemble considers that its source is to be sought, like that of the word that follows, in *beorg-an* (= to hide, or shelter). It would represent thus an inhabited place with more substantial fortifications than simple hedges or ditches. "I am inclined to believe," says Kemble, "that the modern sense of *burg,* viz., a *fortress,* was the original Saxon one also; it would appear so from the name of a man frequently occurring in the composition: most probably the village grew up around the castle." Cod Dipl., III., xix.

Beorh, Berg. These words also assume in composition the form of *bury,* as in Ry-*bury* (originally Ruge-berg), and sometimes of *borough,* as in Wood-*borough* (spelt in the charters Wódnes-beorg, Cod. Dipl., 1035). The meaning of the word is a *hill.* It is connected certainly with the verb *beorgan* (= to *hide* or *shelter*). The fundamental signification of *berg* was ground that *conceals,* whether in respect of which may be

[1] It may be observed that Wick in the Scandinavian languages means a "bay or recess," and hence the old fierce Vikings had their name. Like the Greek Pirates they issued from their winding bays to carry slaughter and rapine wherever they could. Old Norse *vik* (= wik) "recessus, sinus brevior et laxior." The word *wick* in the North of England means a corner, *i.e.,* bending. A Lancashire man will talk of "the *wicks* of his mouth."

buried underneath, or because of what it intercepts or *bars*, or what it shelters. "The Anglo-Saxon *beorh* was not the German *berg* (= a mountain) in its strict application, but bore a far wider meaning. The least elevation or rising of the ground, even a cluster of stones, or a heap of earth, was called *beorh*. The term is used in Joshua, vii., 26, "And worhton mid stánum ánne steápne *beorh* him ófer" And they wrought with stones one high *beorh* (= heap) over him." There can be little doubt as to our word *barrow* (when applied to the *tumuli* on our downs) being a form of the same word. There is however an Anglo-Saxon verb *byrian* which signifies to *raise*, and *eorðbyre* is also the common name for a tumulus. From this comes the word, so frequently found in charters, *byrigels* (= a burial-place), and possibly also the words *barrow* and *burrow* (= a warren), because *eorðbyre* signifies not only a tumulus or tomb, but a heap of earth in every other respect. Leo, p. 76.

41. *Berie.* This occurs as a frequent termination, and in the names of places which can neither be described as towns, villages, or hills. Thus we have Hésel-*beri* (Cod. Dipl., 706) (=Haselbury), and Etes-*berie* (= Yatesbury) (W. Domesd., 122). There are two words of frequent occurrence in charters, *bearo*, which means a "woody plot," and *bæro*, or *bero*, a word only occurring in composition, and denoting "pasture." The connection of *beri* with either of these is however not clear. It seems clearly a distinct word from either of the two just explained, though it assumes in composition the same form *bury*. Whishaw, in his Law Dictionary, gives *Beria*, *Berie*, *Berry* as meaning a "large open field." He adds these words from Cowell: "Most of our glossographers have confounded the word *berie* with that of *bury* and *borough*, as the appellations of ancient towns: whereas the true sense of the word *berie* is a flat wide campaign. Many flat and wide meads and other open grounds are called by the names of *Beries* and *Berry-field*. The spacious meadow between Oxford and Ifley was, in the reign of King Athelstan, called *Bery*. As

is now the largest pasture-ground in Quarendon, in the county of Bucks, known by the name of *Bery-field.* And those meads (called *Berie*-meadows) have been interpreted demesne or manor meadows, yet were they truly any flat or open meadow, that lay adjoining to any vill or farm." See also Kennett's Paroch. Antiq. Gloss., *sub voce* BERIA.

42. *Stóc, Stow.* These two words, though distinct, are placed together because they have much the same meaning, viz., "place" or "habitation." Of the latter Florence of Worcester explains the signification in the words: "Sanctæ Mariæ *Stou* Anglice, Latine Sanctæ Mariæ *locus* appellatur." Mon. H. B., 609. The former is the very frequent termination *stoke* or *stock,* as in Laver-*stock,* formerly Laver-*stoke.* It is frequently also found as a simple name. One of the tithings of Bradford-on-Avon is called STOKE. In the Shaston Chartulary *Stoke,* and in Domesday *Stoche,* are the names respectively for Beeching-stoke and Braden-stoke. From the way in which it is often used it would seem sometimes to denote a small out-lying portion of some larger estate.

Leáh. This assumes the form of *ley* or *legh.* It is defined in a charter (Cod. Dipl., 190) as equivalent to campus (= field): thus we have "campus armentorum, id est hriða leah." Kemble thinks that Witena-leah (Cod. Dipl., 588), which was by Maddingley, near Cambridge, may be so called from a meeting of the "Witan," having been held there. He further gives it as his opinion that the root of this word, still common in English poetry, is *licgan,* (= to lie), and that in all probability it originally denoted meadows lying fallow after a crop. It has also been suggested that from the way in which this word is used in the Saxon Chronicle it may have been the old Gothic word used for the waste or march which, according to Cæsar, always surrounded the territory of a German tribe, De Bell. Gall., iv., 3. We have the word LEIGH in its simple form frequently in Wilts as the name—of a tithing of Bradford-on-Avon—of a portion of the parish of Westbury—and of a place close by Malmesbury.

43. *Thorp.* A name for a *village,* but originally signifying an assembly of men. (Compare the Latin *turba* and the German *dorf.*) We meet with this word in Wiltshire in the compounds Westrop (=*West-thorp*) and Estrop (=*East-thorp*). Leo (Anglo-Saxon Names of Places, p. 49) says "The antiquity of the word *thorp* is supported, not only by the fact of its being common to both Latin and German, but in that it is found in almost all European dialects:—*torf* signifies in Welsh a crowd, a multitude, a *troop*; and *tearbh* (olim *turbh*) in Gaelic and Erse means a tribe, a family, a farmers' village. *Torppa,* also in Finnish, signifies a village. The French *troupe, troupeau,* are related, whether such an affinity is brought about by the Latin *turba,* or by the Celtic *torf,* or *trubh.*" He adds, "Whilst *hám* suggests the internal and mutual relationship of inhabitants of districts—*tún, ham, burh,* their external isolation and stability—*thorp* conveys the idea of their social intercommunion."

Wurth, Wyrth. This is the Anglo-Saxon *wurð* or *weorð* (= a homestead) and forms the termination *worth,* as in Tid-worth, Chel-worth, and a few other names. It has much the same meaning as the Low German *worthe,* a protected enclosed homestead. It is sometimes found as *weorðig* (= *Worthy*) as in Ham-worthy, in Dorset. Thus in the charters Tamworth is spelt sometimes *Tamo-worð* and at others *Tamo-worðig.* In the laws of King Ine, § 40, "Ceorles weorðig" is rendered in the old Latin version "Rustici *curtillum*" (= ceorl's *close*). Rocquefort defines it "Jardin qui est ordinairement enfermé de murailles, de haies, ou de fossés." See Anc. Laws and Inst., I., 127; and Glossary, *sub voce* Weorðig. The word occurs in its simple form as the name of a hundred now usually termed High-worth, but which is called in the Exon Domesday and Hundred Rolls Worde and Worth. Wilts Domesd., 164.

44. Thus far then concerning what is usually the *second* portion of Anglo-Saxon names of places. There are a few others, whose meaning is well understood; these will be explained in a supplemen-

tary list, in which an account will be given of the names in which they occur.

We have now to deal with the *first* member of such names—that which qualifies the generic term and limits its application to some particular locality. For convenience sake we will class them under *four* general heads.

I.—Names derived from the general *physical features* of the country.

It will be evident that among the first names imposed by any new settlers in a country would be those derived from the *general physical features* of the country itself. Many of such names, as we have already shown, were *adopted* from the language of the aborigines, the Anglo-Saxons in not a few instances adding their own Teutonic terminations to the Celtic words. But as soon as they were at all settled in the country they would begin to give names derived from their own language, and these would at first necessarily be descriptive of the natural features of a locality. Under this head, which may well include names derived from the productions of a place, whether from the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom, may be ranged a large number of words. Among such names we may place the following:—

Bradford means simply the *broad ford* over the Avon;—Bradlegh is the *broad legh*;—Bratton is the *broad village*, a name describing accurately enough the straggling village bearing that designation close by Westbury;—Hinton (A.S. *Heántún*) means the *high village*, or that which is situated on hilly ground;—Henley is the *high legh*, a fair description of the table-land which is to be seen in such large tracts on the tops of our downs;—Langley is the *long legh*, a word of frequent occurrence in Wiltshire.

Then again from the Anglo-Saxon *wudu* (or *wude*) meaning a wood, come many words. Woodford explains itself;—Wootton, *i.e.*, "village by the *wood*," is a name given to several places in the vicinity of forests, *e.g.*, Wootton Bassett by the large forest of Braden, Wootton Rivers by that of Savernake.

In late Saxon you have *sceaga*, which signifies wood, wilderness.

This is the origin of SHAW, the name of two places, one near Melksham, the other by Alton Priors. From the compound *bremele sceaga*, literally "bramble-wood," we have the name BRAMSHAW. I am inclined to think that the name SHOCKERWICK, on the Somersetshire border, by Batheaston, is a corruption of *sceaga-wíc*, and means simply the "dwelling by the *wood*."

45. In some cases the peculiar shape of a manor or estate seems to have fixed the name. STERT, near Devizes, may fairly be presumed to be the Anglo-Saxon *steort*, which means a tail, an extremity, a promontory. GORE, a tithing of Market Lavington, would seem to be *gára*, an angular point or neck of land stretching out into the plain, a word which, according to Kemble, is itself to be referred to *gár*, a javelin or pike.

Then from the Anglo-Saxon *dún*,[1] which signifies hill, and from which we get our common expression "the *downs*," come amongst others the following names: DOWNTON (*dún-tún*) is the village situated between the hills or in the neighbourhood of the downs;—DONHEAD (*dún-heáfod*) means literally the *head, i.e.*, the commencing, or the highest point, of the *downs*; HINDON (*heán-dún*) means high hill, an apt description of the locality of the now decayed town bearing that name, and which at first was simply the hilly part of the parish of East Knoyle.

46. Then, amongst the names derived from the *natural productions* of a locality, the following may be mentioned:—

(*a*) Those derived from the vegetable kingdom.

Such for example are ASH-DOWN (*æsces-dún*), the "hill of the ash-trees," and the similar compounds of ASHTON, ASHGROVE, ASHTON, which sufficiently explain themselves. Again GARSDON

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[1] As regards this well known word, a philological friend has sent me the following observations: "Dún (=hill, a fortified hill) is found in Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries but it is not Teutonic. It is the Ir. and Gael. *dun*, a fortified house or hill; W. *din*, a fortified hill or mount, a camp or fort. Its appearance in such Celtic names as Lug-*dun*-um, and Lon *din*-ium, shows clearly its origin. It has been imported into the German dialects: Frisic *dünen* and S. German *donen* are instances, but its proper home is on Celtic ground. Bæda says it is a word of the ancient British language." See Pritchard's Researches, iii., 126.

(*gærs-dún*), near Malmesbury, means simply the "grassy hill." PURTON, in the same neighbourhood, from its original spelling, *pirig-tún*, would seem to mean the village where the *pear-tree* flourished. From *ellen-dún* (= the hill of elder-trees) you have ELINGTON, a name now superseded by that of Wroughton, of which parish it forms part.

The wild broom (Anglo-Saxon *bróm*) gives its name to SOUTH BROOM, near Devizes, as well as to BROMHAM, in the same locality.

(*b*) Those derived from the animal kingdom.

Under this division will be placed SWINBROOK, the name of a small stream in Pomeroy, on the Somerset border, so called probably from the *swine* that revelled among the acorns of the adjoining wood. STODFOLD, the name of one of the ancient hundreds, is the Anglo-Saxon *stód-fald*, a word of frequent occurrence in boundaries, and means simply the "fold for horses" (the words *steed* and *stud* being still familiar to us as connected with horses), and STUDLEY has much the same signification. FUGGLESTON, if the former part be not a corrupt or shortened form of some personal name, is perhaps from the Anglo-Saxon *fugel* (= a bird or fowl), and may be so termed from the *wild fowl* that frequented the neighbourhood of the Wyly and the Nadder, near the confluence of which streams it is situated. Of the derivation of RAMSBURY, however specious the disguise in which it appears, we can have no doubt. Its original name was *Hræfnes-byrig* (= raven's bury), and its Bishops (for at that place was the seat of the ancient bishopric of Wiltshire) fully understood its meaning when they signed themselves "Episcopi *Corvinensis* Ecclesiæ." In its immediate vicinity is a place called CROW-WOOD.

(*c*) Those derived from the mineral kingdom.

One of the Wiltshire Hundreds is called CHALK, and within it are the parishes of Broad-Chalk and Bower-Chalk. SEEND, and SAND-RIDGE, which is in its immediate vicinity, are so called from the light *sandy* soil that is to be found there. From the Anglo-Saxon *clif, clyf* (= a rock or cliff) come a number of names, such as CLIFF-PIPARD, CLIFF-WANCEY (now corrupted into Clevancy), CLIFTON, and the like. The compounds from the Anglo-Saxon *stán* (= stone) are very numerous. We have not a few places of the name of STANTON in Wilts. Near Hungerford we have a STANDEN, and by

Chippenham a STANLEY, both of which explain themselves. STOWELL, or as it is sometimes spelt STAWELL, is from the Anglo-Saxon *stàn-wyll* (= stone well). Collinson gives "Stan-well" as a form in which he meets with the name of what is now commonly called "Stowell," near Wincanton, in Somerset.

II.—Names derived from the *division of the land* among the settlers in the country.

47. We now advance a step further. As soon as the new settlers have made themselves secure in the land which they have won, they begin to divide it among themselves; and hence another class of names is introduced, those that derive their origin from the *nature of the settlement*, or from circumstances connected with such *partition of territory* among the conquerors.

It is no part of our purpose in this essay to trace out the way in which the ancient *marks* were occupied by the men of a family or a clan, or the gradual means by which *manors* were granted out to various owners, or how these manors or estates were formed into tithings and hundreds, and these subsequently into shires. We have only to do with such subjects so far as the names we meet with throw light upon them or are illustrated by them.

It will not however be irrelevant, if, on one of these points, inasmuch as the ancient names in Wilts seem to throw some light upon it, I make a few remarks.

In the oldest list of the Wiltshire Hundreds, that contained in the Exeter Domesday Book, out of *forty* which are enumerated, there are but *twelve* which are called from a chief town within their limits. These are:—Ambresbury, Bradford, Cricklade, Chippenham, Calne, Downton, Heytesbury, Melksham, Mere, Ramsbury, and Warminster. The comparatively small places Alderbury, Damerham, and Worth (= Highworth) give names to hundreds, but neither Bedwin (unless, as is possible, Kinwardston may be another designation of it), Wilton, or Malmesbury are found assigning their names to such divisions of territory; and of the rest, the meaning of some of the words is so obscure as to be beyond our power to explain, whilst of others the interpretation seems to point to a remote time when the country

was but thinly peopled, and there were but few towns or villages of any note in it. Thus BLACHE-GRAVE means the dark grove or wood; THORN-GRAVE and THORN-HILL, the wood and hill covered with thorns or brambles; STAN-FORD, the *stone* (paved) ford over a stream, the old name for the present hundred of Chalk; STOD-FALD, the fold, or place, for horses (Anglo-Saxon *stód-fald*); EL-STUB, in Anglo-Saxon *ellen-stub*, the stump or stowl of the elder, of very common occurrence in the recital of ancient boundaries; STAPLE (Anglo-Saxon *stapol*), literally an upright post or pillar, designating, at the first perhaps, the place where the Hundred Court was held, when, meeting in the open air, they transacted the business of which that ancient court took cognisance; RUGEBERGH, *i.e.*, the *rough*, or hoar barrow; WHER-WELS-DON, (originally perhaps *hár-welles-dún*,) *i.e.*, the hill by the hoar, or ancient well. Such names as these tell, as it seems to me, of great antiquity, and point clearly to a time when Wiltshire had but few places of note which might give names to the Hundreds in which they were situated. And it is hard to explain, except by the merest conjecture, such names as FERSTESFIELD (Frustfield), STERKLEY, BRENCHESBERG (Branch), DOLESFELT (Dole), and SELKLEY,—all traces having for the most part long since perished of the sources from which they were originally derived.

Now it is a common assertion that Tithings and Hundreds were instituted by King Alfred. The Chronicon Wintoniense, under A.D. 882, says expressly that he formed them, "ad latrones investigandos." Ingulphus repeats the same statement, and attributes their establishment to King Alfred, about A.D. 893. No doubt Alfred may have re-modelled the Hundreds and Tithings, but I cannot help thinking that the institution of them was of much earlier date, and I submit that this opinion is in a measure confirmed by fair deductions from the names of the ancient hundreds in Wilts. For, certainly, a very early and primitive state of things in Wiltshire seems to be indicated, when the ancient barrow or tumulus, the elder-stowl, the hoar or ancient well, the staple or stone pillar, gave names to Hundreds.

Add to this the following facts, and I venture to think that I have made out a fair case for my belief, that the institution of Hundreds

in Wilts was, perhaps, some 200 years before Alfred's time. Up to the close of the eleventh century, the date of the Exeter Domesday, there is no such Hundred as Malmesbury. In the year 1340, as we learn from the Inquisitiones Nonarum, what is now the town of Malmesbury was situated in *two hundreds*, the dividing line running through it. The church of St. Mary, together with Brokenborough and Charlton, was in the Hundred of CHEGGELEWE; the church of St. Paul, together with Rodbourn and Corston, was in the Hundred of STERCHELEE. If the town of Malmesbury existed at the time when the Hundreds were formed, is it likely that it would have been parted between *two* Hundreds, especially when we bear in mind that the lordship of both, as well as of all the neighbouring estates, belonged from an early period to the Abbot of Malmesbury? In fact, is it not almost certain that had it so existed it would have given its name (as it did in after times) to the hundred, like Bradford, Westbury, Calne, Warminster, &c.? Now, Malmesbury is mentioned as a town by Bæda, who calls it "Maildulfi urbs," under the date of A.D. 705. If therefore there be any force in the facts on which I have been dwelling, they would furnish, to say the least, a strong probability that the Wiltshire Hundreds were formed before the town of Malmesbury was built, and so perhaps some 200 years before Alfred the Great was born. As far as they go they would give some confirmation to the opinion advanced by Hutchins and others, that their first institution is, with far more likelihood, to be attributed to Ine, the friend and kinsman of Aldhelm, who was king of Wessex, A.D. 690—726.

48. The word SHIRE, as in Wilt-*shire*, signifies simply a *share* or division (Anglo-Saxon *Scyr*). This word enters into the composition of many names of places that are upon the borders of the county, and these are interesting as showing for how long a time the limits of the county have remained unchanged. A comparison of the entries in the Domesday record for Wiltshire and the neighbouring counties leads us also to the same conclusion. Thus on the north-west border of Wilts you have SHER-STON, originally *Scyr-stán* (shire-stone). At another part of the boundary you have SHER-RELL farm, which seems to derive its name from a *rill* or small stream

that in that part bounds the county. At Freshford, also on th borders, you have a place the name of which is now spelt SHASTON there can be little doubt but that you have its original form i SHARE-STONE, close by Chapmanslade, and that both are called fron a stone placed near them for the purpose of marking the boundar of the county.

Again, the word *mær*, or, as it is generally written, *ge-mære*, de notes a boundary. In its simple form MERE we meet with it as th name of a hundred which forms a portion of the south-west boundar of our county, and of the principal town in it. Its compounds ar numerous. Every Wiltshire man is familiar with the term "*mere-stones*," or the stones by which, on our open downs, one plot of lan is separated from another. The same word appears in MARSTON (Maisy),originally *mær-stán*, near the north east boundary of Wilts Close by Poulshot also you have a MARSTON, though there it indicate the boundary between two hundreds. MAR-DEN, near Devizes, means the boundary "dean," and also is at the point of separation between ancient hundreds. Near Burbage you have MAR-GREEN, close by the borders of a neighbouring parish. A place by the Gloucestershir border of our county is called MARSH-FIELD (originally spelt *Mares-feld*), and a house at Road, on the Somersetshire border, still bears the name of MER-FIELD, that is, in each case the "boundary field." The line of hills that separates Winsley from Warleigh, a few miles only from Bath, is called MUR-HILL, and there is a place of much the same character near Swindon which is spelt MUR-RELL; in either instance it was probably originally *mær-hyl, i.e.*, the "boundary-hill." Near Swindon also, you have some rising ground, which was at first, no doubt, called *mær-hyrcg, i.e.*, the "boundary-ridge," and this has been corrupted in the course of centuries into MARRIAGE HILL. We have also several places in Wiltshire called MAR-TON or MAR-TIN; all of which are on the borders either of the county or of hundreds. They mean either the "boundary village," or (as certainly is the case with the place of that name near Burbage) the "boundary thorn," the idea of their deriving their appellations from the supposed dedication of their churches to St. Martin being quite unfounded.

49. It has already been mentioned that one way of marking boundaries, when no other means were at hand, was by placing a stone or wooden pillar at the point to be indicated. This was called in Anglo-Saxon *stapol*, and from it we have the word *staple*, which is frequently found as a component part of the names of places. Indeed the history of this word, and of its various meanings, is very interesting. In its primary signification you have it in such words as STAPLE-FORD, which is the ford by the staple or pillar set up to mark the boundary of the manor; and STAPLE-HILL, the name of a hill at Westwood, across which runs the border of Wilts and Somerset. It came next to denote a land-mark generally, and in this sense it is used in such a word as STAPEL-THORN, that is, a thorn serving as a point of boundary just as the customary "staple." In time it became a custom to erect such stone pillars in the middle of villages and towns to mark the place where men might congregate for the purpose of transacting business, and the village "staple" was afterwards developed into the "market cross." In ancient days when the privilege of holding a market was ceded to any town or village, it often had the name "Staple" or "Steeple" prefixed to it. Hence the names STEEPLE ASHTON and STEEPLE LAVINGTON, the latter place being commonly called MARKET LAVINGTON. From the less to the greater the step was not difficult. The principal place in London for the sale of wool, the chief article of commerce in ancient times, was in Holborn, near what is now called STAPLES INN. The principal articles of commerce came, from being sold there, to be called "*Staple* articles," and they who dealt in them were in due time called "Merchants of the *Staple*."

50. Of course every one has heard of the division of the country into *hides*. In the Domesday record, in every instance the extent of a manor is given first in *hides* and then in *carucates*. The former mode of measuring, or, perhaps, I ought to say, *assessing* estates, had existed for many years prior to the Norman conquest. Hence in our local names we have several traces of the custom. Thus FIFIELD and FIFEHEAD are but corruptions of *fíf híd*, and mean simply an estate containing *five hides*. In like manner TIN-HEAD, a tithing of Edington, means an estate of *ten hides*. TILSHEAD,

from the way in which it is spelt in documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *Tidulf*-hide and *Theodulf*-hide, seems to be the designation of a manor containing a hide belonging at one time to an owner named Theodulf.

51. Again, any Wiltshire man knows what is meant by a *linch*, or, as sometimes we have it in a diminutive form, *linchet*. It is the Anglo-Saxon *hlinc*, which signifies a ridge of land, and is applied in Wilts to the boundary ridges thrown up for the purpose of separating one property or parish from another. Hence Junius defines it, "agger limitaneus parœchias dividens." It is applied to such ridges, or balks, of varying extent. The place now called Trafalgar, in memory of the great Lord Nelson, was previously termed STANLINCH. This is evidently the Anglo-Saxon *stán-hlinc, i.e.*, the "stony linch" (Andrews and Dury in their map give the name as *Ston-ley*). Not far from this place, and in the same parish of Downton, you have a place called RED-LINCH. This, it is conjectured, refers to the *red*, perhaps *gravelly* soil of the "linch," from which it derives its name.

Two more instances may be given under this class of names. The Anglo-Saxon word *hivisc* means a "small estate." Hence the word HUISH or HEWISH, which is but another form of the original term. Near Chippenham you have it in a compound word. HARDENHUISH means *Harding's-estate*. In the Domesday record, though he did not possess at that time this particular manor on which has been imprinted the name of his family, HARDING is recorded to have held, in the time of Edward the Confessor, property in its immediate neighbourhood. In fact one of the Titheringtons belonged to him.

III.—Names of places derived from those of *owners or occupiers* of the land.

52. We have in the various ancient charters a large list of personal names. In the Wilts Domesday we have an account of the names of numerous tenants both before and after the Conquest. Moreover Wassenberg has collected together, in his Philological contributions to the Frisian language, a list of old

Frisic personal names, which without doubt serve to interpret many local names in Wilts.

An example or two shall be given, first of all, from some of the Anglo-Saxon charters.

There is a place in All Cannings which is now called ST. ANNE'S HILL, but, as it has been shown in the pages of this Magazine, (vol. xi., p. 9,) it is really a memorial of an ancient owner of the name of Anne, the occurrence of such names as these—*Anan stán* (= Anne's stone) *Anne's* thorn—*Anne's* crundell—in the charter of Stanton Berners, the immediately adjoining parish, clearly proving it.[1] Again, in the charter relating to Dauntsey, we have named among the points of boundary, *Strenges buryeles* (= Streng's burial-place), a name now only to be recognized in *Stranger's* Farm.[2] So in the Hyde Chartulary, in the land-limits of Collingbourn Kingston, we have *Guthredes-berg* (= Guthred's barrow), a name now changed into GODSBURY.[3]

Of those, for the interpretation of which we may look to Domesday Book, an account has already been given in this Magazine.[4] Two may be referred to by way of illustration. The place now called Fittleton is in Domesday (p. 113) called VITELETOE,[5] and the owner in the days of the Confessor was one VITEL, and it is no stretch of imagination to believe that from this early owner, or some namesake

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[1] See Cod. Dipl. 483. We have similar instances of this tendency to see memorials of Saints in local names in designations given to other parishes in Wilts. STANTON BERNERS has been transformed into Stanton *St. Bernard*, whilst STRATFORD TONY, so called from Alice de Toni, Countess of Warwick, has been gravely intrepreted as Stratford *St. Anthony*. In like manner MARTIN, near Bedwyn, supposed to be called from an old chapel presumably dedicated to *St. Martin*, is simply *mær-tún* (=boundary village), and was formally spelt *Marton* or *Merton*. In the Inq. p.m. 17 Edw. I, the name occurs as *Mar-thorn*, as though it were so called from some *boundary thorn* planted there. Anyhow the name has nothing to do with any mediæval Saint.

[2] Cod. Dipl. 263.

[3] Hyde Chartulary, (Rolls Series) p. 107.

[4] Wilts Magazine, xiii., 42.

[5] In a charter relating to Enford, an immediately adjoining parish, we have a boundary-point described as "*Fitelan* sládes crundel" *i.e.*, the "crundel by *Fitel's* slade." Cod. Dipl. 1110.

of his, the village derived its name. Again, ELSTON, a tithing in the parish of Orcheston St. George, belonged, at the time of Domesday, to Osbern Giffard (W. Domesd., p. 117). In the thirteenth century it belonged to one of his descendants, *Elias* Giffard (Test. de Nev., 142). The form in which the name was then spelt, *Elys*-ton seems to prove that its meaning is the town or village of *Elias* (Giffard).

53. Drawing conclusions from analogy, I have little doubt that many names, which now puzzle us, contain in them abbreviated and often corrupt forms of the names of some ancient owner. Certainly the lists that we have among the subscriptions to the Anglo-Saxon charters, as well as that of Frisian names which Wassenberg has compiled, seem to throw much light on this subject, though we cannot directly connect many of the personal names with those of the places which they nevertheless seem to interpret. Thus we find the name of HUNLAF, an abbot, appended to a Saxon charter of the date of 854[1]: is it unlikely that one so called gave the name to HUNLAVIN-TONE (= Hunlaf's town) ?—certainly WOOLAVINGTON, in in Sussex, was originally Wulfláfing-tún (= the tún, or village of Wulfláf.[2] So too with what is now called ROLLESTONE: in Domesday it is accounted for under WINTERBURNE (W. Domesd., p. 41), and in the Nom. Vill. it appears as ABBODESTON, so called from belonging to the Abbey of St. Peter's, Winchester; but its present designation I believe to be derived from some old owner bearing a name which in old Frisian appears as ROLLE, and in Dutch as ROEL, and which, Wassenberg tells us, is a contraction of Rudolf, or Radulf, (now better known in its shortened form of Ralph or Rolf,) of by no means infrequent occurrence in Domesday Book. A form of the name which we meet with in sundry records viz., Roluestone (= Rolvestone) certainly confirms this view.

54. It will have been observed that some of our illustrations have been from instances in which a personal name occurs in connection

[1] Cod. Dipl. 270. We meet with *Húnláfing-ham* in a charter from Cod. Winton, (C.D. 1231,) but I do not know where the place so designated may be; it does not seem to be in Wilts.

[2] Saxons in England, i., 60.

with the sepulchral *tumuli*, to which reference is so constantly made in the charters, and which are still to be seen in such numbers on our downs. The present mode of burial in cemeteries set apart for the purpose, and then attached to churches, was not usual till nearly the end of the ninth century. At certain periods they observed the custom of solitary burial, under a mound or barrow, in the open and uncultivated ground which separated the possessions of different communities or settlers. Hence the very frequent reference to such mounds on the *borders* of ancient manors,—sacred land-marks they became,—the work of man indeed, but intended for his home, when, after his days of toil, he folds his hands and lays him down to rest. Perhaps in our zeal to interpret the past we are in danger of some irreverence in peering into these ancient sepulchres. It would be well for us, if, when engaged in what to some is the exciting chase of "barrow-digging," we bore in mind more frequently that in that "dust and ashes" are the germs of immortality. The old charters deal with a time when the names of a few past generations had not quite faded from men's memories. In going through these records a feeling often comes over you, like that which, after a residence of many years in a village, you feel as you walk through the church-yard, and can tell, one by one, whose memorials the little turf-heaps are, and who sleeps beneath them. Frequent allusions are often found to older "barrows:" a common expression found is "oð ða hæðenan byrgelsas," *i.e.*, to the "*heathen* burial-places:" moreover the way in which mention is made of persons being placed in these "heathen barrows" seems to imply that the earliest Christians buried where the pagans had previously deposited the burnt remains [1] of their dead.

55. A few names selected from charters relating to Wiltshire may be interesting: possibly an intimate knowledge of the localities to which they refer may enable some of my readers to discover the name still remaining in our county.

[1] Kemble well observes that the Anglo-Saxon verb *byrgian* does not mean simply what *we* call burial, but has the more extended meaning of *covering* and so does not exclude the idea of *cremation*. It corresponds to the Latin *sepelire*, which is applied to the urn containing the ashes, quite as correctly as to the burial of the unburnt body. See above, § 40.

Wures-byrgylse. This name, which means simply "Wur's burial-place," occurs in a charter which seems to relate to Fifield, near Everley. Cod. Dipl., 592. I do not remember the name in Wilts, simply or in composition, as that of a person or place. An old Bishop of Lichfield (721—731) is called by Simeon of Durham,[1] Aldwine *alias* Wor. The latter was his birth-name and is evidently of Celtic origin, the former was his assumed name, when, like some of his imitators of other ages, rising in the social scale, he adopted one taken from the language of the ruling class. Such an expression as *Wures-leage* might well account for the name Wors-ley.

Hoces-byrgels. This expression is found in the boundaries of Bedwin (Cod. Dipl., 1266). In those for Witney, in Oxfordshire (Cod. Dipl., 775), we have *Hóces-lów*, that is, the *low* of Hóce. It *may* be that the personal name Hook is a modern form of this ancient name, and possibly Hux-ley may be the same in composition. Kemble suggests (Arch. Journ., xiv., 127) that Hóce may possibly be a mythical personage, probably the *heros eponymus* of the Frisian tribe, who figures in Beówulf and the episode of whose cremation is one of its finest passages. Still, he adds—and in this I am quite inclined to agree with him,—"it may be the name of a private individual."

56. Other personal names are in like manner prefixed to *hlœw* (= *low*), which means a mound, either natural or artificial, and often of a sepulchral character. Thus *Cwichelmes-hlœw* (Cod. Dipl., 693), is the well-known tumulus now called Cuckhamslow, near Wantage, in Berks. In Wiltshire, we have amongst others the following :—

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[1] Mon. H. B. 659. The name Wur or Wor (it occurs also in the Saxon Chronicle—Anno 800—as Worr, in the name of an ealdorman of Wessex), may, as a learned friend suggests to me, be connected with the Welsh *gwer* (= that which is superior, or uppermost). Thus Vortigern is the Welsh *gwr-theyrn* (or *teyrn*), and means simply the "eminent prince" or chieftain. The good Bishop need not have been ashamed of his birth-name, Celtic though it might be. See Philol. Transact, (1857,) p. 57.

Beaces-hlæw. This is named among the land-limits of Chalk (Cod. Dipl., 436). Among those for Bedwin (Cod. Dipl., 1266) we have *Beocces-heal*—we cannot at all, as far as I know, identify this name, but it seems at all events to have been once known in Wilts. The more modern name Beech may be its counterpart.

Ceorles-hlæw. This name is not of infrequent occurrence. We meet with it in in the charter for Downton (Cod. Dipl., 698), and no doubt can from it explain the meaning of Charlton (in the charters spelt *ceórla-tún*), which is included in the parish. It may be open to question whether the reference be to a personal name, or to a class. The term *ceorl* designated a class of free peasants in ancient times.

57. Then we have allusions not unfrequently to tumuli which had been injured. There were "spoilers of tombs," in ancient as in modern times. Thus we often read in an ancient charter "to ðam brocenan beorge," *i.e.*, "to the *broken* barrow" (Cod. Dipl., 763), and in one case we have the fact stated yet more explicitly in the words: "to be westan ðam beorge ðe ádolfen wæs," *i.e.*, "to the west of that barrow that was dug (or *delved*) into." (Cod. Dipl., 1033.) These are interesting extracts as explaining to us the name of Brokenborough, near Malmesbury. It appears in the charters as *Brocene-berg*, and was no doubt so termed from some "broken," or rifled, sepulchral "barrow," on or near the spot.

58. There is one other form in which personal enter into the composition of local names, on which a few words must be said. They are those which may be called *patronymics*, and which denote clans or families who derive their designation from that of some chieftain or head of the tribe or settlement.

These local denominations are to a great extent irregular compositions, of which the former portion is a patronymic ending generally in *-ing*, and declined in the genitive plural *-inga*, when followed by some other name descriptive of the special locality, such as mearc,—hám—wíc—tún—díc, and the like. In a few cases the patronymic stands alone in the nominative plural, the termination of which is *-ingas*. Thus Cannings, the name of two parishes in Wilts,

is clearly the modern form of an implied *Ceanningas*. In a charter from the Codex. Winton. (Cod. Dipl., 1193), we have, in the land-limits of Heyling, in Hants, the expression *Cænninga-mær*, which can only mean the boundary of the tribe, or clan, of the "Cannings." At no great distance from Cannings is a name, CANE HILL, which perchance may be a memorial of the chief from whom they took their name. In the name KEN, well-known and remembered in the West of England, we seem to have the name in something like its primitive form.

Under this head may be placed also a number of names which have the form of genuine patronymics, but denote, not so much the clan descended from any particular chief, as that residing within a certain district. Thus *Æfeningas*, now AVENING, means, as has already been shown, the "dwellers on the Avon;" in like manner *Teofuntinga-gemære* (Cod. Dipl., 284) means the boundary of the "men of Teffont," and *Lamburninga-mære* (Cod. Dipl., 792), in like manner means the "mark" or district of those who belonged to Lambourne. So COLLINGBOURN, spelt in the charters *Colinga-burn* (Cod. Dipl., 336) may mean the "bourn" or "stream" of those who lived on the banks of the river Cole, though that name, at all events in that particular part of Wilts, is not now known. I admit, however, that it is as likely that the *Colingas* derived their name from some old leader or chieftain. We certainly meet in the charters with such expressions as *Colan-treów* (= Cole's tree) (Cod. Dipl., 712), and *Colan-ham* (Cod. Dipl., 227) (= Cole's homestead), which show that a personal name existed which may well explain the former portion of the name Collingbourn. Moreover, in the Wilts Domesday we have Cola holding a small estate, as one of the King's Thanes (W. Domesd., 136).

59. It is right however to add that in dealing with this class of names much caution is necessary, for it is by no means enough that a word should end in *-ing* to make it a patronymic. On the contrary, as Kemble remarks,[1] "it is a power of that termination to denote the genitive or possessive, which is also the generative case, and in some

[1] Saxons in England, i., 60. *Note.*

local names we do find it so used: thus "Æðelwulfing lond" (Cod. Dipl., 179) is exactly equivalent to "Æðelwulfes lond," the land of a duke Æðelwulf, not of a family called Æðelwulfings." So again "Ðæt Folcwining lond," and "Ðæt Wynhearding lond" (Cod. Dipl., 195), imply the land of Folcwine and of Wyneheard, not of marks or families called Folcwinings and Wyneheardings. Woolbedington, Woollavington, Barlavington, are respectively Wulfbæding-tún, Wulfláfing-tún, Beórláfing-tún, that is, the *tún* or dwelling of Wulfláf, Wulflbæd, and Beórláf. Between such words and genuine patronymics the line must be carefully drawn, a task which requires both skill and experience. The best security is where we find *the patronymic in the genitive plural*—(with the termination, that is, of *inga*, as in examples just given)—but one can very generally judge whether the name is such as to have arisen in the way described above, from a genitive singular. Changes for the sake of euphony must also be guarded against, as sources of error: thus Abingdon (in Berks) might impel us strongly to assume a family of 'Abingas;' the Saxon name Æbban-dún convinces that it was named from an *Æbba* (m.), or *Æbbe* (f.). So Dunnington is not Duninga-tún but Dunnan-tún that is *Dunna's* (=Dunn's?) *tún*, or dwelling."

IV.—Names which have reference to the Religious Worship of those who from time to time settled in this part of the country.

Under this head will be included those which illustrate alike the heathendom and the early Christianity of our Teutonic forefathers.

60. (*a*) Of the former perhaps the best known is the name which now appears as Wansdyke, the largest of the ancient Wiltshire Dykes, and which is found in the charters invariably as Wodnes-díc, that is, *Woden's-dyke*. Again, in the land-limits of Alton Priors we have the name *Wodnes-beorg*, which is the original form of what we know as Woodborough, meaning *Woden's Hill* (Cod. Dipl., 1035). Then we have *Wodnes-den* in the land-limits of Overton (Cod. Dipl., 1120). "So common in every part of England," says Kemble, "are names of places compounded with this name, that we must admit the worship of Woden to have been current throughout the island: it seems impossible to doubt that in every quarter there were localities [1] (usually rising

[1] Saxons in England, i., 343.

ground) either dedicated to him, or supposed to be under his protection; and that thus Woden was here, as in Germany, the supreme god whom the Saxons, Franks, and Alamans concurred in worshipping."

Another of the deities worshipped by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the days of their heathendom was Tiw, from whom we derive the name for the third day of the week, Tíwes-dæg (= Tuesday). He would seem to have corresponded with Mars, and was worshipped as a god of battle. We have the name of this deity in such compounds as *Teówes-þorn* (= Tiwes-thorn), in the charter relating to Purton (Cod. Dipl., 174)—*Tæues-den,* in that referring to Chelworth (Cod. Dipl., 329)—and possibly also in *Tæsan-mæd,* in that concerning Alton Priors (Cod. Dipl., 1035), a name now known as *Teow's-mead,* the designation of a farm close by Wansdyke. It is not impossible that in the name Tis-bury, a parish in the south-west of the county, we have a like memorial of Saxon heathendom. In a charter of Cnût (A.D. 1023), amongst the boundaries of an estate at Hanitúne (Hannington), in Hants. we have "*Tis-leáh,*" which, if the place could be identified, would no doubt be *Tis-ley.*

One other illustration under this head shall be given—others will be found in the lists appended to this general account. An ancient encampment on the downs, not far from Heytesbury, is called Scratchbury Camp. I venture to suggest that the former portion of the name is from the same source as the Danish and Swedish *skratti* (= a dæmon). Notice has already been drawn to the idea so common in ancient times of works like these being carried out by the help of evil spirits (See above § 17). There is a Scratby in Norfolk, and in Norway we find Skradascar as the name of a haunted rock on the coast.

61. (*b*) Of names which illustrate the early Christianity of our forefathers, the following may be named:—

Bishopstrow. A village near Warminster, originally *Biscopes-treow* (= Bishop's tree), a memorial of the good St. Aldhelm, first Bishop of Sherborne (A.D. 705—709), to whom the church is dedicated, and who, as he founded the monasteries both at Bradford and Frome, no doubt visited this

place, within a few miles of which indeed he died. William of Malmesbury tells us a story, by way of accounting for the name, at which we may perhaps smile, but which no doubt has a substratum of truth in it. "Aldhelm, once, when preaching," he says, "fixed his ashen staff in the earth: it grew miraculously, putting forth boughs and leaves, and numerous ash trees afterwards sprang from it, hence the place was called Biscopes-trewe."[1] Is it not possible that the word *treow* (= tree) is used here in its secondary sense as equivalent to "cross," as in Acts, x., 39, "Whom they slew and hanged on a *tree*?" So Oswestry, as has been mentioned (§ 2), means Oswald's tree (or cross), its equivalent in Welsh being Croes-Oswallt. And Dr. Guest interprets Aeiles-treu (a name also given as Ægles-ford, and Ægelesthrip), as equivalent to Church-*cross*. Archæol. Inst. Journ., (Salisb.) p. 47. If so, the old chronicler gives us a glimmering of the truth, veiled though it may be with fable. Here no doubt the good Bishop preached the truth to the semi-christianized, if not at that time heathen, people of Wessex. Probably, like Augustine and other early missionaries, he carried with him a cross, the symbol of our faith, and planted it in the ground beside him, as he proclaimed the doctrine of the cross. Anyhow the name is a memorial of one of the holiest and most devoted of missionary bishops, and so of our early Christianity in Wessex.

Christian Malford, near Chippenham; originally *Cristes-mælford*. The Anglo-Saxon word *mæl* signifies a mark, or sign, or image, so that the whole word means the ford by *Christ's sign* (= the cross), or *Christ's image* (=a crucifix, or rood). The word *Criste-mæl* often occurs in Saxon charters by itself, and also in composition, as descriptive of points of boundary. Thus in a grant of Grimanleáge to Worcester, we have, "úp ondlang ðæs hearpoðes tó ðæm Criste-mæle" (up along the high-way to the *Christ-mal i.e.*, the cross). Cod. Dipl., 266.

[1] Gest. Pontif. (Rolls Series), p. 384.

So also we have Cyrstemal-ac (=oak). Cod. Dipl. 118. In a charter relating to Niwanham (Newnham), in Kent, we have a point of boundary described as "þær þæt *Christes-mæl* stod," (where the *Christ-mal* stood). Cod. Dipl., 526. All these notices would seem to indicate that way-side crosses, or figures of our Lord on the cross, were customary in this country, as they still are in parts of Europe, in the early days of of Christianity.

All that has been attempted has been to give an example or two under each of the *general* classes we have endeavoured to explain. Some Names there are which cannot very fitly be placed under any one of these four heads;—others which might be included under more than one. These, together with many that will be additional illustrations of the various portions of this and the two previous papers, we hope some day to give in a supplementary list.

Names of Wiltshire Churches.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson.

THAT Churches should be distinguished by names may not be necessary where there is only one: but in cities where they are numerous, the time-honoured custom of naming them after some Saint is convenient and almost unavoidable. But it should be remembered that though a church bears the name of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Leonard, &c., it is not dedicated to them, but to the glory and worship of God, in memory or as a memorial of them.

The word "saint" is properly an adjective, not a substantive: but just as we incorrectly speak of the classic writers as "the classics," so, use (the "*norma loquendi*") has given a substantive form to "the saints." The word, whether spoken of a person or thing, simply means holy. In the latter case, "Saint cross" and "Saint sepulchre" are merely the equivalent of "Holy cross" and "Holy sepulchre."

The authorities for the names of our churches are Ecton's Thesaurus,

1742; Bacon's Liber Regis, 1786; Browne Willis's Parochiale Anglicanum, and the "Liber Scholasticus," an abridgement from the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Revenues of the Established Church, presented to Parliament in 1835, which contains the dedication names, so far as was known, of every church in England and Wales.

In some instances these authorities do not agree: and the causes of uncertainty are various. 1. It was sometimes the case in ancient times that one part of a church was finished and consecrated before another part: and the name given to a part may have been mistaken for the name of the whole. 2. There were also chantry chapels in the church, each having its altar and name. Confusion has arisen from this. 3. The village feast or revel, originally a religious festival instituted to mark the day of consecration, is generally, but not invariably, good evidence of the name of the church. 4. Sometimes upon the rebuilding or restoration of a church a new name was given; and 5, sometimes when the name had been forgotten the accidental discovery of some fresco-painting of a saint has led to that name being adopted.

If a name cannot be found in any of the authorities above-mentioned, it might possibly be met with in ancient records relating to the parish preserved at the Diocesan Registries: especially in mediæval or pre-Reformation wills. Testators frequently specified by name the church in which they desired to be buried, or to the repair of which they made some bequest of money.[1]

I.—Names of Parishes.

Aldbourne	St. Michael[2]	Allington (near Amesbury)	St. John Baptist
Alderbury	B. V. Mary		
Alderton	St. Giles	Ald Cannings	St. Anne[3]

[1] For some of these observations the writer is indebted to various correspondents in *Notes and Queries*.

[2] So in the King's Book. The village feast happening to be held on the Monday nearest to St. Mary Magdalen's day has sometimes connected that name with the church.

[3] So in Ecton and Bacon. In Wilts Mag. (xi., 14) All Saints is considered more probable.

Alton Bernard	B. V. Mary
Alton Priors	All Saints
Alvediston	B. V. Mary
Ambresbury	B. V. Mary and St. Melor
Ansty	St. James
Ashley (near Tetbury)	St. James
Ashton Keynes	Holy Cross
Ashton, Steeple	B. V. Mary
Ashton, West	St. John Ev.
Atworth	St. Michael
Avebury	St. James
Barford St. Martin	St. Martin
Baverstock	St. Edith
Baydon	St. Nicholas
Beechingstoke	St. Stephen
Bedwyn, Great	B. V. Mary
„ Little	St. Michael
Bemerton	St. Andrew
Berwick Basset	St. Nicholas
Berwick	St. James
„	St. John
„	St. Leonard
Biddeston	St. Nicholas
„ (destroyed)	St. Peter
Bishops Cannings	B. V. Mary
Bishopston (S. Wilts)	St. John Baptist
„ (N. Wilts)	B. V. Mary
Bishopstrow	St. Aldhelm
Blacklands	St. Peter
Blunsdon	St. Andrew
„ Broad	St. Leonard
Boscombe	St Andrew
Bowden Hill (Lacock)	St. Anne
Bower Chalk	Holy Trinity
Box	St. Thomas à Becket
Boyton	B. V. Mary
Bradenstoke *cum* Clack	B. V. Mary
Bradford-on-Avon	Holy Trinity
„ (New church)	Christ Church
Bradley, North	St. Nicholas
„ (Road Hill)	Christ Church
Bramshaw	St. Peter
Bratton	St. James
Bremhill	St. Martin
Bremelham (or Cowidge)	[*not known*]
Brinkworth	St. Michael
Britford	St. Peter
Brixton Deverel	St. Michael
Broad Chalk	All Saints
Broad Henton (or H. Magna)	St. Peter
Broad Town	Christ Church
Brokenborough	St. John Baptist
Bromham	St. Nicholas
Broughton Gifford	B. V. Mary
Bulbridge	St. Peter
Bulford	St. John Evangelist
Burbage	All Saints
Burcombe	St. John Baptist
Buttermere	St. James
Calne	B. V. Mary[1]
„ (Quemerford)	Holy Trinity
Calston Willington	B.V.Mary

[1] In "Wiltshire Collections," p. 34, Note, St. Mark is an error of the press for St. Mary.

Castle Combe	St. Andrew
Castle Eaton	B. V. Mary
Chaldfield, Great	St. Catharine
Chapmanslade	St. Philip and St. James
Charlton (near Pewsey)	St. Peter
„ (near Malmesbury)	B. V. Mary
„ (near Donhead)	All Saints
Cherhill	St. James
Chesingbury Priors (destroyed)	St. Mary [1]
Cheverel, Great	St. Peter
„ Little	St. Peter
Chicklade	All Saints
Chilmark	St. Margaret
Chilton Folyot	B. V. Mary
Chippenham	St. Andrew
„ Langley	St. Paul
Chirton	St. John Baptist
Chiseldon	Holy Cross
Chitterne	B. V. Mary
„	All Saints
Chittoe	B. V. Mary
Cholderton	St. Nicholas
Christmalford	All Saints
Chute	St. Nicholas
Cleverton [see *Lea*]	
Clyffe Pypard	St. Peter
Codford	St. Peter
„	B. V. Mary
Colerne	St. John Baptist
Collingbourne Regis, Abbat's, or Kingston	B. V. Mary
„ Ducis	B. V. Mary [2]
Combe Bisset	St. Michael
Compton Basset	St. Swithun
„ Chamberlayne	St. Michael
Corsham	St. Bartholemew
Corsley	St. Margaret
Corston	All Saints
Coulston East	St. Thomas à Becket [3]
Cowidge [see *Bremelham*]	
Cricklade	B. V. Mary
„	St. Samson
Crockerton	Holy Trinity
Crudwell	All Saints
Damerham	St. George
Dauntsey	St. James
Derry Hill (Calne)	Christ Church
Devizes	St. John Baptist
„	B. V. Mary
„	St. Peter
Dilton	B. V. Mary
„ Marsh	Holy Trinity
Dinton	B. V. Mary
Ditchampton	St. Andrew
Ditchridge	St. Christopher?
Donhead	St. Andrew
„	B. V. Mary
Downton	St. Laurence

[1] Called by Ecton "St. John Baptist:" but corrected in his Appendix to "St. Mary."

[2] Corrected from "St. Andrew" by Ecton in his Appendix, p. 631.

[3] So in Bacon; but Ecton says "St. Andrew."

Draycote Cerne	St. Peter
Durnford Great	St. Andrew
Durrington	All Saints [1]
Earl Stoke	B. V. Mary
Easton Grey	[*not known*]
Easton Royal (near Pewsey)	Holy Trinity
Ebbesbourne Wake	St. John Baptist
Echilhampton	St. Andrew [2]
Edingdon	All Saints
Eisey (Cricklade)	B. V. Mary
Elingdon [see *Wroughton*]	
Enford	All Saints
Erchfont	St. Michael
Everley	St. Peter
Farley Chapel (near Salisbury)	All Saints?
Fifield Bavent (Chalke)	St. Martin
Fifield (Marlborough)	
Figheldean	St. Michael
Fisherton Aucher	St. Clement
„ Delamere	St. Nicholas
Fittleton	All Saints
Fonthill Episcopi	All Saints
„ Gifford	St. Nicholas
Fosbury	Christ Church
Fovant	St. George
Foxham	St. John Baptist
Foxley	[*not known*]
Froxfield	All Saints
Fuggleston	St. Peter
Garsden	All Saints
Grafton, East	St. Nicholas
Grimstead, West	[*not known*]
Grittleton	B. V. Mary [3]
Gumbleton	St. Thomas
Ham	All Saints
Hankerton	Holy Cross
Hannington	St. John Baptist
Hardenhuish	St. Nicholas
Harnham, West	St. George
Hartham Chapel	[*not consecrated yet*]
Haselbury (destroyed)	All Saints
Hedington	St. Andrew
Heytesbury	SS. Peter and Paul
„ Hospital	The same
Heywood Chapel, (near Westbury)	Holy Trinity
Highway	St. Peter
Highworth	St. Michael
Hill Deverel	B. V. Mary
Hilmerton	St. Laurence
Hilperton	B. V. Mary [4]
Hindon	St. John Baptist
Hinton, Little	St. Swithun
Holt	St. Catharine
Homington	B. V. Mary

[1] No early name being known, that of "All Saints" was adopted at the restoration of the church in 1851.

[2] Possibly "St. Anne." See Wilts Arch. Mag., xi., 183.

[3] Anciently, according to an old record, "All Saints."

[4] So Ecton: but the present Rector says "St. Michael and All Angels."

Horningsham	St. John Baptist
Huish	St. Nicholas
Hullavington	B. V. Mary
Idmiston	All Saints
Imber	St. Giles
Inglesham	St. John Baptist
Keevil	St. Leonard
Kemble	All Saints
Kennet, East	Christ Church
Kingston Deverel	B. V. Mary
Kington	St. Michael
„ West	B. V. Mary
Knook	St. Margaret
Knoyle, East Magna, or Episcopi	B. V. Mary
„ West, or Odierne	B. V. Mary
Lacock	St. Cyriac
Landford	St. Andrew
Langford, Little	St. Nicholas
Langley Burrel	St. Peter
„ (Chippenham)	St. Paul
„ Fitzurse, or Kington Langley	St. Peter
Latton	St. John Baptist
Laverstock	St. Andrew
Lavington, West	All Saints
„ East, or Market	B. V. Mary
Lea and Cleverton	St. Giles
Leigh Delamere	St. Margaret
„ Chapel (Ashton Keynes)	[*not known*]
Liddington	All Saints
Limpley Stoke	B. V. Mary (or St. Edith?
Littleton Drew	All Saints
Longbridge Deverel	SS. Peter and Paul
Luckington	B. V. Mary
Ludgershall	St. James
Lydiard Millicent	All Saints
„ Tregoz	All Saints
Lyneham	St. Michael
Maddington	B. V. Mary
Maiden Bradley	All Saints
Malmesbury Abbey Church [1]	B. V. Mary and St. Aldhelm
„ Old Parish Church	St. Paul
Manningford Abbats	[*not known*]
„ Braose	St. Peter
„ Bohun	All Saints
Marden	All Saints
Marlborough	B. V. Mary
„	St. Peter
Marston Meysey	St. James
„ South (Highworth)	
Melksham	St. Michael
Mere	St. Michael
Mildenhall	St. John Baptist
Milston	B. V. Mary
Milton Lislebonne	St. Peter
Minety	St. Leonard
Monkton Deverel	[*not known*]
„ Farleigh	St. Peter

[1] Originally SS. Peter and Paul.

Neston (Corsham)	SS. Philip and James
Netheravon	All Saints
Nether Hampton	St. Catharine
Nettleton	B. V. Mary
Newnton, Long	Holy Trinity
„ North (*alias* Hilcot)	St. James
„ South	St. Andrew
„ Tony	St. Andrew [1]
Norton (near Malmesbury)	All Saints
„ Bavent	All Saints
Nunton (Downton)	St. Andrew
Oaksey	All Saints
Oare (with Wilcot)	?
Odstock	B. V. Mary
Ogbourne	St. Andrew
„	St. George
Orcheston	St. George
„	B. V. Mary
Overton	St. Michael
Patney	St. Swithun
Pertwood	St. Peter
Pewsey	St. John Baptist
Pitton	St. Peter
Plaitford	
Poole Keynes	St. Michael
Porton	St. Nicholas
Pottern	B. V. Mary
Poulshot	St. Peter [2]
Poulton	St. Michael
Preshute	St. George
Purton	B. V. Mary
Quemerford	Holy Trinity
Ramsbury	Holy Cross
Redlynch	B. V. Mary
Rodbourne (Malmesbury)	Holy Cross
„ Cheney	B. V. Mary
Road Hill (see *Bradley, North*)	
Rolleston	St. Andrew
Rowde	B. V. Mary
Rushall	St. Matthew
Salisbury Cathedral	B.V.Mary
„	St. Edmund
„	St. Thomas
„	St. Martin
Savernake	Christ Church
„ Cadley	St. Catharine
Seagry	B. V. Mary
Sedgehill Chapel	St. Catharine [3]
Seend	Holy Cross
Semington	St. George
Semley	St. Leonard
Sevenhampton	St. Andrew
Shaw (Melksham)	Christ Church
Sherncote	All Saints

[1] This dedication dates only from 1844. The name of the old church was not known.

[2] All Saints (Ecton).

[3] So in Ecton: but Mr. C. Bowles (Hund. of Chalk, p. 38) says "St. Leonard."

Sherrington	St. Michael
Sherston	Holy Cross
Shrewton	B. V. Mary
Slaughterford	St. Nicholas
Somerford, Broad, Great or Magna	SS. Peter & Paul
,, Little	St. John Baptist
,, Keynes	All Saints
Sopworth	B. V. Mary
South Broom	St. James
Stanton Bernard	All Saints
,, Fitzwarren	St. Leonard
,, St. Quintin	St. Giles
Stapleford	B. V. Mary
Staverton?	
Steeple Langford (or Magna)	All Saints
Stert	St. Faith
Stockton	St. John Baptist
Stourton	St Peter
Stratford Tony	St. Laurence[1]
,, Sub Castro (or Deans)	St. Laurence
Stratton	St. Margaret
Studley (Trowbridge)	St. John
Sutton Benger	All Saints
,, Mandeville	All Saints
,, Veney	St. Leonard[2]
Swallowcliff	St. Peter
Swindon	Holy Rood
,, (New)	St. Mark
Teffont Ewyas	[*not known*]
,, Magna Chapel	[*not known*]
Tidcombe	St. Michael
Tidworth, North	Holy Trinity
Tilshead	St. Thomas à Becket
Tisbury	St. John Baptist
Titherington (near Heytesbury)	St. James
Titherton Kellaways	St. Giles
,, Lucas	St. Nicholas
Tockenham	St. John
Tollard Royal	St. Peter ad Vincula
Trowbridge	St. James
,,	Holy Trinity
,,	St. Stephen
,,	St. Thomas
Ugford	St. James
Upavon	B. V. Mary
Upton Lovell	[*not known*]
,, Scudamore	B. V. Mary
Urchfont [see *Erchfont*]	
Wanborough	St. Andrew
Warminster	St. Denis
,, Common	Christ Church
,, (Boreham)	St. John Evangelist
,, Chapel	St. Laurence
Westbury	All Saints
West Dean	B. V. Mary
West Martin (near Damerham)	All Saints
Westport (Malmesbury)	B. V. Mary
Westwood	B. V. Mary?

[1] St. Mary (*Ecton*).
[2] St. Mary (*Ecton*).

Whaddon (near Trowbridge)	B. V. Mary ?
Whiteparish	All Saints [St. Michael ?]
Wichbury	St. Leonard
Wilcot	Holy Cross
Wilsford (Devizes)	St. Nicholas
„ (Ambresbury)	St. Michael
Wilton	B. V. Mary
Winfield	St. Andrew 1403 [1]
Winsley	St. Nicholas
Winterbourne Basset	St. Catharine
„ Dauntsey	St. Edward
„ Earls	St. Michael
„ Gunnore (formerly Cherborough)	B. V. Mary
„ Monkton	St. Mary Magdalene
Winterbourne Stoke	St. Peter
Winterslow	All Saints
Wishford Magna	St. Giles
Woodborough	St. Mary Magdalene
Woodford	All Saints
Wootton Basset	All Saints
„ Ryvers	St. Andrew
Worton (Devizes)	Christ Church
Wraxal, North	St. James
„ South	St. James
Wroughton (Elingdon)	St. John Baptist and St. Helen
Wylye	B. V. Mary
Yatesbury	All Saints
Yatton Keynell	St. Margaret
Zeals Green	St. Martin

II.—Dedication Names.

Aldhelm, St. & B. V. Mary.—Bishopstrow, Malmesbury Abbey Church.

All Saints.—Alton Priors, Broad Chalk, Burbage, Charlton (Downton), Chicklade, Chittern, Christmalford, Corston, Crudwell, Edingdon, Enford, Farley (near Salisbury), Fittleton, Fonthill Episcopi, Froxfield, Garsden, Ham, Haselbury (*destroyed*), Idmiston, Kemble, Lavington West, Liddington, Littleton Drew, Lydiard Millicent, Lydiard Tregoz, Maiden Bradley, Manningford Bohun, Marden, Netheravon, Norton (near Malmesbury), Norton Bavent, Oaksey, Poulshot, Sherncote, Somerford Keynes, Steeple Langford, Sutton Benger, Sutton Mandeville,

[1] St. Mary (*Ecton*).

Westbury, West Martin, Whiteparish, Winterslow, Woodford, Wootton Basset, Yatesbury.

Andrew, St.—Bemerton, Blunsdon, Boscombe, Castle Combe, Chippenham, Ditchampton, Donhead, Durnford, Echilhampton, Hedington, Landford, Laverstock, Newton Tony, Nunton, Ogbourne, Rolleston, Sevenhampton, South Newton, Stanton Bernard, Wanborough, Winfield, Wootton Ryvers.

Anne, St.—Ald Cannings, Bowdon Hill (Lacock).

Bartholomew, St.—Great Chaldfield, Corsham.

Catharine, St.—Holt, Netherhampton, Cadley, in Savernake, Sedgehill, Winterbourne Basset.

Christ Church.[1]—Bradford-on-Avon, Broad Town, Derry Hill, East Kennet, Road Hill (in North Bradley), Savernake, Shaw Chapel, near Melksham, Warminster Common, Worton.

Clement, St.—Fisherton Aucher.

Cyriac, St.—Lacock.

Denis, St.—Warminster.

Edith, St.—Baverstock, Limpley Stoke.

Edmund, St.—Salisbury.

Edward, St.—Winterbourne Dauntsey.

Faith, St.—Stert.

George, St.—Damerham, Fovant, Harnham West, Ogbourne, Orcheston, Preshute, Semington.

Giles, St.—Alderton, Imber, Lea and Cleverton, Stanton St. Quintin, Titherton Kellaways, Wishford Magna.

Helen, St., & St. John Baptist.—Wroughton.

Holy Cross.—Ashton Keynes, Chiseldon, Hankerton, Ramsbury, Seend, Sherston, Wilcot.

Holy Rood.—Rodbourne (near Malmesbury), Swindon.

James St.—Ansty, Ashley (near Tetbury) Avebury, Berwick St. James, Bratton, Buttermere, Cherhill, Dauntsey, Ludgershall, Marston Meysey, North Newnton, South Broom, Titherington (near Heytesbury) Trowbridge, Ugford, South Wraxal, North Wraxal.

[1] All these are of modern foundation.

James, St., & St. Philip.—Neston (near Corsham).

John, St., Evangelist.—West Ashton, Bulford, Studley, Tockenham, Warminster (Borcham Road).

John, St., Baptist.—Allington (near Amesbury), Berwick, Bishopston (S. Wilts), Brokenborough, Burcombe, Chesingbury, Chirton, Colern, Devizes, Ebbesbourn Wake, Foxham, Hannington, Hindon, Horningsham, Inglesham, Latton, Mildenhall, Pewsey, Little Somerford, Stockton, Tisbury.

John, St., Baptist, & St. Helen.—Wroughton, Chesingbury Priors (*destroyed*).

Laurence, St.—Downton, Hilmerton, Stratford-*sub*-Castro or Deans, Stratford Tony, Warminster Chapel.

Leonard St.—Berwick, Broad Blunsdon, Keevil, Minety, Semley, Stanton Fitzwarren, Sutton Veney (?), Wichbury.

Margaret, St.—Chilmark, Corsley, Knook, Leigh Delamere, Stratton, Yatton Keynell.

Mark, St.—Swindon.

Martin, St.—Barford, Bremhill, Fifield Bavent, Salisbury, Zeals Green.

Mary, B. V.—Alderbury, Alton Barnes, Alvediston, Great Bedwyn, Bishop's Cannings, Bishopton (N. Wilts), Boyton, Bradenstoke *cum* Clack, Broughton Gifford, Calne, Calston Willington, Castle Eaton, Charlton (near Malmesbury), Chilton Folyot, Chisenbury (*destroyed*) Chittern, Chittoe, Codford, Collingbourne Kingston, Collingbourne Ducis, Cricklade, West Dean, Devizes, Dilton, Dinton, Donhead, Earlstoke, Eisey, Grittleton, Hill Deverel, Hilperton (?), Homington, Hullavington, Kingston Deverel, West Kington, Knoyle Episcopi or East, West Knoyle, Market Lavington, Limpley Stoke, Luckington, Maddington, Marlborough, Milston, Nettleton, Odstock, Orcheston, Pottern, Purton, Redlynch, Rodbourn Cheney, Rowde, Salisbury Cathedral, Seagry, Shrewton, Sopworth, Stapleford, Steeple Ashton, Stratford Tony (?), Sutton Veny, Upavon, Upton Scudamore, Westport (Malmes-

bury), Westwood (?), Wilton, Winfield (?), Whaddon (near Trowbridge?), Winterbourne Gunnore, Wyly.

Mary, B. V., & St. Melor.[1]—Ambresbury.

Mary, B. V., & St. Aldhelm.—Malmesbury Abbey Church.

Mary Magdalene, St.—Winterbourn Monkton, Woodborough.

Matthew, St.—Rushall.

Melor, St., & B. V. Mary.—Ambresbury.

Michael, St., Archangel.—Aldbourn, Atworth (?), Little Bedwyn, Brinkworth, Brixton Deverel, Combe Bisset, Compton Chamberlayne, Erchfont, Figheldean, Highworth, Hilperton (?), Kington St. Michael, Lyneham, Melksham, Mere, Overton, Pool Keynes, Poulton, Sherrington, Tidcomb, Whiteparish, Wilsford (near Ambresbury), Winterbourn Earls.

Michael, St., & All Angels.—Hilperton (?)

Nicholas, St.—Baydon, Berwick Basset, Biddeston, North Bradley, Bromham, Cholderton, Chute, Fisherton Delamere, Fonthill Gifford, East Grafton, Hardenhuish, Huish, Little Langford, Porton, Slaughterford, Titherton Lucas, Wilsford (near Devizes), Winsley.

Paul, St.—Langley Burrel (Chippenham), Malmesbury (old parish church).

Peter, St.—Biddeston (*destroyed*), Blacklands, Bramshaw, Britford, Broad Henton, Bulbridge, Charlton (near Pewsey), Great Cheverel, Little Cheverel, Clyff Pypard, Codford, Devizes, Draycote Cerne, Everley, Fuggleston, Highway, Langley Burrel, Langley Fitzurse, Manningford Braose, Milton Lislebonne, Monkton Farley, Pertwood, Pilton, Plaitford (?), Poulshot(?), Stourton, Winterbourn Stoke, Swallowcliff.

Peter, St., ad Vincula.—Tollard Royal.

Peter and Paul, SS.—Heytesbury, Do. Hospital Chapel, Longbridge Deverel, Malmesbury Abbey Church (original), Broad Somerford.

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[1] This name does not appear among the usual lists of saints. Leland, speaking of Ambresbury Monastery, says "Jacet ibi S. Melorus cujus prosapiæ, cujusve sanctimoniæ, incertum mihi." [*Collect.*, iii., 252.]

Philip and James, SS.—Neston (Corsham), Chapmanslade.
Samson, St.—Cricklade.
Stephen, St.—Beechingstoke, Trowbridge.
Swithun, St.—Compton Basset, Little Henton, Patney.
Thomas, St.—Gumbledon, Salisbury, Trowbridge.
Thomas à Becket, St.—Box, Coulston, Tilshead.
Trinity, Holy.—Bower Chalk, Bradford-on-Avon (Parish church), Crockerton, Dilton's Marsh, Easton Royal, Heywood near Westbury, Long Newnton, Quemerford, North Tidworth, Trowbridge.

Report of the Wiltshire Herbarium.

By the Rev. T. A. Preston, M.A.

BEFORE entering into the details of the Herbarium, it will be as well to make a few remarks upon the general principles upon which it is being formed.

Mr. Flower, for the purposes of the "Flora of Wiltshire," which he has just completed, has divided the county into five districts. It is proposed to make a separate collection for each district, even of the commonest species, the specimens from one district being fastened down on different sheets of paper from those from another district; thus each species will be represented by specimens on not less than five sheets of paper. In addition to this, all those species which are of sufficiently rare occurrence in Wiltshire to be deemed worthy of having their localities recorded, will also, as far as possible, be represented by specimens from *each* of the localities so mentioned. In this way the same species will be represented by several specimens.

Besides these two different sets of plants, the same species may possibly be represented by several specimens, giving varieties, forms

of growth, or such other points as may be deemed deserving of representation.

Mr. Flower has enumerated rather over 830 species of Wiltshire plants, to which may be added nearly 20 since discovered, and as each species will be represented by five sheets of specimens, the Herbarium, when completed, would have somewhere about 5000 sheets of specimens. This may seem an almost needlessly large number, but when it is considered that the same species ought (however common it may be) to be represented by specimens in different stages of maturity, those specimens in its different stages may be taken from the different divisions, and thus obviate the necessity of having the same species repeated five times. Varieties also may take the place of the typical specimen from one division, if it is properly represented from another division—and in this way the apparently useless repetition of the same species may be greatly reduced. But I do not contemplate such a reduction. The acquaintance with our British plants has of late years so increased that different forms of our commonest species are being pointed out, and a large series of specimens is often of great value, and so far from a single specimen for each division being advisable, it may prove necessary to have a regular series.

For these reasons, then, I consider that a county collection ought to be most *fully* illustrated, and if objections arise as to its size or costliness, I do not think they need have much weight. Up to the present time, it has not cost the Society £5, and for the future, even including the cost of the cases in which to keep the specimens, a sum of £1, or £2, would probably be the *average* cost per annum. This cannot be considered a great burden on the Society's funds; and as for the amount of space required, it need not be a matter of serious difficulty.

With these preliminary remarks, I turn now to the actual state of the Collection.

At the opening of the Museum at Devizes, in September, a first instalment was placed in a cabinet devoted to this purpose. That instalment consisted of 626 sheets, illustrating about 441 species. Since then other specimens have been mounted, and are ready for

incorporating with those at Devizes. When this is done the collection will consist of 1048 sheets, illustrating 598 species. There are still a few to be mounted and arranged, by which the collection will be further increased.

The specimens are arranged on the sheets, and then sent to Kew, to be fastened down in the excellent manner adopted at the Royal Herbarium, where utility is a great point observed. In most cases, the specimens, after being fastened down, have been looked over by one of the authorities there, to detect any errors, and are then returned to me. Mr. Britten kindly undertook this task till he left Kew, and since then Mr. Baker has most generously given up the time necessary for this purpose and has most ungrudgingly incurred the trouble of deciding critical points.

Perhaps I may be permitted to make one remark in connection with the arrangement of the specimens on the sheets. The specimens are merely laid on the spots where they are intended to be fastened down, the locality being inserted where convenient. To prevent the shifting of the specimens during the journey to London, the sheets are packed tightly together, and the specimens thus sometimes become rather adherent to the under side of the sheet above them. Though every care is taken in separating the sheets on their arrival, the specimens do get shifted at times, and sometimes even transferred from their own proper sheet to another. The men who fasten them down, not being botanists, and being instructed to fasten the specimens as they were placed on the papers, naturally put them down as they find them, and thus occasionally (especially among the more delicate specimens) some queer transitions may be detected. As opportunities occur these sheets will be replaced by others.

The contributors to the collection have hitherto been few in number. Dr. H. Franklin Parsons kindly sent contributions as long as he was resident in the county, and to him the Society is indebted for the majority of the plants from divisions II. and III. Mr. W. A. Clarke, of Chippenham, has also sent contributions from division II., and he alone, I am sorry to say is now the only regular contributor. Mr. Cunnington has also sent a few specimens from Devizes. With these exceptions, the collection has been formed by

myself. For the last three years I have been unable to do as much as I could wish, and this must be the excuse for the meagreness of the collection, and also for the large proportion of plants being from division IV. Those for division I. have also been collected by myself, as Marlborough is just near enough to the northern boundary of that division to enable me to collect there occasionally.

The Herbarium is still unfit to be considered in any way a *county* Herbarium, and I should therefore thankfully acknowledge the receipt of any contributions to it. It is clearly impossible for *one* person to do all this work of collecting, and as will be seen from the subjoined Table, some districts are very poorly represented, if indeed they can be considered to be represented at all.

Total No. of Species represented, 598

	Species represented.	No. of Sheets of Specimens.
Division I., S.E.	103	105
II., S.M.	55	57
III., S.W.	156	158
IV., N.W.	107	115
V., N.E.	473	613

It will be seen that the same species is sometimes represented in more than one division, I shall be happy to send a marked list to anyone who may feel inclined to assist: but still it may be interesting to know some of the more important species which are not at all represented:—

Adonis autumnalis
Ranunculus Lenormandi
R——— Lingua
R——— hirsutus
R——— parviflorus
Nymphæa alba
Papaver hybridum
P—— somniferum
Corydalis lutea
Fumaria capreolata
F——— micrantha
Teesdalia nudicaulis
Iberis amara
Camelina sativa
C——— fœtida
Alyssum calycinum
A——— incanum
Cardamine amara
C——— impatiens
Turritis glabra
Sisymbrium Sophia
Cheiranthus Cheiri
Sinapis nigra
Viola palustris
V— lutea
Drosera rotundifolia
D—— intermedia
Dianthus Armeria
Silene anglica
S—— nutans

Mœnchia erecta
Arenaria tenuifolia
Stellaria glauca
Cerastium semidecandrum
C——— arvense
Hypericum Androscœmum
H——— dubium
H——— elodes
Erodium Cicutarium
Geranium pusillum
Impatiens Noli-me-tangere
I——— fulva
Oxalis corniculata
O—— stricta
Linum usitatissimum
L—— angustifolium
Radiola millegrana
Genista anglica
Medicago maculata
Trigonella ornithopodioides
Trifolium subterraneum
T——— scabrum
T——— striatum
T——— fragiferum
T——— filiforme
Lotus tenuis
Astragalus hypoglottis
Ornithopus perpusillus
Vicia lutea
Lathyrus sylvestris
Potentilla argentea
Comarum palustre
Rubus rhamnifolius
R—— carpinifolius
R—— pygmæus
Rosa inodora
R— systyla
Sanguisorba officinalis
Pyrus torminalis
Hippuris vulgaris
Myriophyllum verticillatum
Ribes nigrum
Sedum dasyphyllum
S—— sexangulare
S—— reflexum
Sempervivum tectorum
Cotyledon umbilicus
Chrysosplenium alternifolium
Petroselinum segetum
Pimpinella magna
Œnanthe Lachenalii
Fœniculum vulgare
Viscum album
Sambucus Ebulus
Galium erectum
Lactuca virosa
Hieracium umbellatum
Carduus pratensis
Artemisia Absinthium
Filago minima
Senecio viscosus
S—— Sarracenicus
Inula Helenium
Jasione montana
Erica tetralix
Cuscuta epilinum
C—— epithymum
Solanum nigrum
Atropa Belladonna
Verbascum Blattaria
Antirrhinum majus
A——— orontium
Orobanche Hederæ
Mentha piperita
Calamintha Nepeta
Melittis Melissophyllum
Marrubium vulgare
Myosotis cæspitosa
Pulmonaria officinalis
Pinguicula lusitanica
Utricularia vulgaris
U——— minor
Hottonia palustris
Lysimachia thyrsiflora
Anagallis tenella
Samolus Valerandi
Plantago coronopus
Amaranthus Blitum
Chenopodium olidum
C——— hybridum
Daphne Mezereum
Asarum europæum
Euphorbia Lathyris
Mercurialis annua
Salix Lambertiana
S—— rubra

Salix aurita
S— repens
S— fusca
Myrica Gale
Epipactis palustris
Cephalanthera ensifolia
Herminium monorchis
Ophrys aranifera
O—— muscifera
Narcissus biflorus
Tulipa sylvestris
Fritillaria meleagris
Ornithogalum nutans
Muscari racemosum
Convallaria majalis
Polygonatum officinale
P———— intermedium
Narthecium ossifragum
Alisma ranunculoides
Potamogeton pusillus
P——— rufescens
Typha latifolia
T—— angustifolia
Juncus squarrosus
Luzula sylvatica
Cyperus longus
Rhynchospora alba
Blysmus compressus
Scirpus glaucus
S—— setaceus
S—— multicaulis
Scirpus fluitans
Eriophorum vaginatum
Carex stellulata
C—— axillaris
C—— muricata
C—— vulgaris
C—— stricta
C—— acuta
C—— lepidocarpa
C—— pallescens
C—— binervis
C—— lævigata
C—— strigosa
C—— Pseudo-cyperus
C—— pilulifera
C—— tomentosa
C—— clandestina
C—— vesicaria
Agrostis setacea
Arundo Epigejos
Aira præcox
Avena fatua
A—— strigosa
Molinia cœrulea
Sclerochloa rigida
Festuca sciuroides
Brachypodium pinnatum
Lolium arvense
Nardus stricta
And almost all the Ferns.

My only fear in publishing this list, long as it is, is that it may lead intending contributors to imagine that the above are *all* that are required. The fact is, that of *Erythræa Centrurium* alone are there representatives from each of the five divisions. I have merely indicated those species of which we have *no representatives at all*, and which cannot be easily procured near Marlborough, but as will be seen from the Table above given, every division is most inadequately represented, and I can only repeat that I shall gladly enter into correspondence with anyone who is anxious to help in the work.

In conclusion and as an encouragement to intending contributors, a few of the more interesting points of the collection, as already formed, may be mentioned.

What are called the *Batrachian Ranunculi* will, I trust, be well

represented, and of these I shall unhesitatingly insert all good specimens which may be sent. They are the water-plants which cover the ponds in early summer with their white flowers, and present a great variety of forms. The collection already possesses several very interesting forms, and some of the species not recorded in Mr. Flower's "Flora." The ponds in which they grow often dry up in summer, yet the plants are not destroyed, but re-appear when there is sufficient water in the spring. A series from a succession of ponds on the Overton Downs will interest those who are paying attention to the subject. Specimens of *Thlaspi perfoliatum, Sinapis muralis, Silene noctiflora, Caucalis daucoides, Carduus tuberosus, Cineraria campestris, Monotropa Hypopitys, Polemonium cæruleum, Orobanche elatior, Euphorbia platyphylla, Ornithogalum pyrenaicum, Alopecurus fulvus,* together with some *Rubi* and *Salices* not recorded in the "Flora," will also be found, some of them quite new to the county, and not known hitherto to occur so far south.

Still these are but *very few* of the rarities of Wiltshire, which I hope to increase ere many months have passed.

T. A. Preston.

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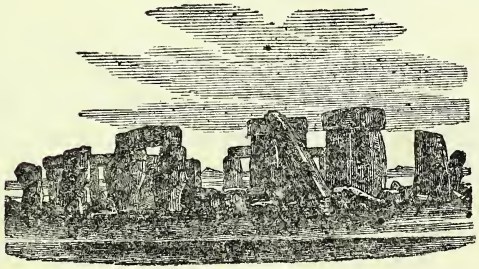
THE WILTSHIRE Archæological and Natural History MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine, will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions: and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and Mr. Wm. Cunnington, Argyll House, 361, Cold-Harbour Lane, Brixton, London, S.W.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

THE

WILTSHIRE
Archæological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

No. XLIV. JUNE, 1875. Vol. XV.

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THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid*,

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological & Natural History Society,

HELD AT DEVIZES,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, September 8th, 9th, and 10th,

1874.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

GABRIEL GOLDNEY, ESQ., M.P.

IS the Society this year celebrated the attainment of its majority, and with the Annual Meeting combined the Inauguration of its new Museum and Library, the attendance of members and visitors was unusually large.[1]

The Town Hall of Devizes having been kindly placed at the service of the Society, by the Mayor and Corporation, the proceedings of the twenty-first Anniversary Meeting commenced at two o'clock on Tuesday, September 8th, in the Assembly Room, (which was completely filled,) under the presidency of G. Goldney, Esq., M.P.

Mr. GOLDNEY said the first business of the day was to ask Mr. Smith, one of the Secretaries, to read the Report, which he had no doubt would show the Society to be in a favourable condition, and be satisfactory to the members generally.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH thereupon said he desired first to discharge a duty laid upon him by their Patron, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and to make excuse for his non-attendance that day. His Lordship

[1] In preparing the following account of the Devizes Meeting, the Editor desires to acknowledge his obligations to the columns of the *Devizes Gazette*, *Advertizer*, and *Independent*, and also of the *North Wilts Herald*.

commissioned him to say that he would have joined them with great pleasure, but for his absence in a distant part of Ireland. Lord Lansdowne's grandfather had inaugurated this Society in that Hall, as their Patron, twenty-one years ago, and the Committee had hoped that his grandson, would have been present on this occasion to open the Museum, as he most certainly would have done, but for his absence from England. Mr. Smith then proceeded to read the

REPORT FOR 1874.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society cannot meet the Members of the Society on this important occasion of its history (of this day attaining its majority, and at the same time inaugurating its new Museum and Library), without very heartily congratulating themselves and the Society at large on the highly satisfactory state in which it now finds itself.

"As twenty-one years have elapsed since the Society was inaugurated in this room, and as this seems a marked epoch in its history, perhaps it may be permitted to review very briefly the course it has pursued, and what it has effected, before we touch upon its present position.

"The Committee thinks it worthy of especial congratulation that the interest of the people of Wiltshire, in the ancient remains and history of their county, as well as in its natural history has been so much developed and increased during the period of the existence of the Society. Without entering into minute particulars the Society may now justly boast of the performance of what was at the outset merely anticipation and promise. Civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history, has been promoted; ancient buildings have been carefully examined and described; the grand Celtic remains, and the many British earthworks, in which our county so pre-eminently abounds, have been cared for; and in more than one instance their preservation from destruction has been secured by the efforts of members of this Society; the genealogy of several county families which was heretofore obscure, has been elucidated; manners, customs, and personal biography have been investigated and put upon record; documents once neglected have

been brought forward, both from public and private sources; and, in short, there is scarcely any branch of historical and antiquarian research in connection with this county, the knowledge of which has not materially been advanced by the labours of our various contributors. Tangible proof of this remark is furnished by the fourteen volumes of the Magazine now before the public, of whose merits let an appreciative public judge.

"There is, however, one point on which the Committee in alluding to the Magazine cannot be silent, and that is the very deep debt of gratitude it owes to the labours of Canon Jackson; by whose pen every one of these fourteen volumes has been greatly enriched, and without whose accurate and interesting contributions our publication would be very inferior to what it is. To Canon Jackson the Committee desires to tender its most hearty thanks at this period of its history, and to assure him that it is keenly sensible of the large share he has had in promoting the success of the Society during the twenty-one years of its existence, while it earnestly hopes he will continue his invaluable labours in its behalf.

"With such substantial evidence of progress and prosperity the Committee cannot but review the first twenty-one years of the Society's existence with satisfaction, and pleasure. From small beginnings it has advanced to its present numbers, which (we are enabled to state on the authority of the Financial Secretary) never stood so high at any previous period of its history as now, for we have to-day 341 names on our books, and these members of the Society, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the county, if not all active in its cause, are all apparently well disposed to aid in carrying out its numerous and diversified objects. That it should in the long interval since its inauguration have lost many active supporters is only what was inevitable: many a head and many a hand that worked willingly with us twenty-one years ago is now cold in death; though many during that period have come worthily to fill up the ranks thus broken, and to give promise of continuous vitality to our archæological and natural history pursuits; and several of us who are now engaged in celebrating its majority, took an active part in the formation of the Society twenty-one years ago.

"And here it seems fitting to say that surely no Archæological Society in England can hold its meeting this year without referring to the loss which the great cause of antiquities has sustained in the death of Mr. Albert Way. As the recognized founder of the "Royal Archæological Institute," as for many years the editor of its admirable Journal, as the conductor of its operations whether during its sessions in London, or during its annual congress at one or other of the principal cities in the provinces; but above all as the ever-ready and courteous adviser, to whom all enquirers might apply for information, and from whose copious stores of antiquarian knowledge in every branch of the subject, many of us have from time to time derived much valuable instruction, and many useful suggestions, Mr. Albert Way stood alone; so that to those who did not enjoy his personal acquaintance, his loss seems that of a private friend, as well as that of the chief referee and leader in the archæological world.

"To return to our report of this Society during the last twelve-month.

"Since we met last year at Swindon, we have lost by death four original members, viz., Mr. W. F. Lawrence, Mr. James Noyes, Mr. J. G. Nicholls, and Dr. Thurnam. Of the loss which this Society has sustained by the death of the last-named accomplished antiquarian, mention has been already made in the Magazine in the form of a short memoir; but the Committee cannot now allude to his decease, without repeating the most sincere expressions of regret, and their deep sense of his value as an archæologist of European reputation.

"With regard to finance, our balance in hand now amounts to £359 8*s.* 1*d.*, which is an apparent decrease on last year's balance of £17 11*s.* 11*d.*, but inasmuch as during the year we have expended some £50 for furniture, and some £28 for books, beyond our ordinary outlay, it will be seen that our balance-sheet is, in reality, highly satisfactory.

"Then as regards the expenditure for Museum and Library, which is an account wholly distinct from the general fund of the Society, the subscription list amounts to £1117 3*s.*, very nearly all of which has been received, and of this £1110 17*s.* 7*d.* has been expended,

leaving a balance of £6 5*s*. 5*d*. in hand. On this point your Committee desires to hint as delicately as possible, but at the same time to impress on the minds of the friends of the Society, that while fully sensible of the great liberality which the county has shown towards it in this matter, and deeply grateful for the same, there is yet a sum of about £300 wanting to pay for the fittings already supplied, and to complete the furnishing of the rooms and cases, such as are needed to perfect our work; and the Committee confidently trusts that by means of the subscriptions of those who have not already contributed, and perhaps by means of second donations on the part of some few who may feel inclined to aid still further than they have done, the necessary funds may be obtained for the absolute completion of the work before the end of the year.

"In the matter of additions to the collections contained in our Museum and Library, during the past year, many valuable specimens, illustrative of most of our branches of study, have been kindly sent by various contributors, most of which have been acknowledged in the Magazine. To these we have now to add (received within the last few days), a very handsome gift to the Library, in the shape of fifty-four volumes of books, many of them of exceeding value, which have been sent us by our first President and ever kind friend, Mr. Poulett Scrope; nor can we pass by in silence the munificent sum of £50 from Mr. Poynder, being the second donation which that gentlemen has contributed to the general purposes of the Museum and Library.

"It only remains for the Committee to offer its hearty thanks to these and the other benefactors of the Society, and again to entreat the co-operation of all the members in carrying on the various researches in which it is engaged. There is a great deal yet to be learnt, both in regard to the antiquities, and to the natural history of Wiltshire. Let the inauguration of the new Museum and Library, and the attainment this day of its majority on the part of the Society, prove a fresh motive for increased exertions on the part of all who have an interest in the county; for let it be remembered that the work of such a Society as this, if it is to be exhaustive on any one of the many subjects which it takes in hand, can never be

accomplished by the zeal, however ardent, of a few; but must be the result of the combined efforts of many; so true and so applicable to its own pursuits is the Society's motto, emblazoned, as you will see it, by amateur hands, as you enter the Museum :—

'Multorum manibus, grande levatur onus.'"

Mr. E. P. Bouverie said he had been requested to move the adoption of the Report, which he did with very great pleasure. He did not however consider that he was worthy of so distinguished a position or of calling attention to the satisfactory points to which it referred. The only claim he could advance to be considered an archæologist was founded on the fact of his being a member of this Society. He had been hoping that he would have been accompanied to-day by a friend whose name was almost of world-wide celebrity —he meant Sir John Lubbock—who had promised to come with him to this meeting, but unfortunately he found he had a previous engagement which prevented him doing so. Sir John was a gentleman eminently qualified to have addressed them with advantage and instruction, and was well known for his zeal in the pursuit of archæological subjects. He was glad to say Sir John had become a Wiltshire proprietor, as many present might be aware, and had acquired a portion of Avebury, and had expressed an ardent wish to preserve those ancient monuments there which some seemed anxious to destroy. He remembered quite well while travelling across this county, from north to south, some 40 or 45 years ago, seeing a party of men breaking up the grand old stones at Avebury, for the purpose of mending the roads. Now let them hope that partly owing to the exertions and interposition of such Societies as this, that spirit was passing away, and that there was a desire to maintain those mysterious monuments which existed as interesting links between us and our forefathers. We were a nation having a great past, and it was natural we should desire to see what that past had been, and it was only by investigating these matters in a scientific mode that a knowledge of that past could be obtained. We knew we were a great people now, and that our name and our language were known all over the world—perhaps more known than those of any other nation that had previously existed—but

we are what we are, because we have been made so by our forefathers, and therefore it was most natural that we should endeavour to ascertain what sort of people our forefathers were, what they did, how they lived and acted, and what were their characteristics and history; and the unwritten records in which Wiltshire so greatly abounded were to a very great extent the means by which we might arrive at that knowledge. It would be idle for anyone like himself who was not familiar with archæological matters, to attempt to talk about them, but still as an Englishman and as a Wiltshireman it was impossible not to feel an interest in them. There were in this county monuments that carried them back to the earliest races known to exist in this land, and the grand old stones which stood on the downs of Wiltshire presented a problem still to be solved. Coming down to more recent times, Mr. Bouverie spoke of some of the noble structures that adorn this county. As a proof of the great wealth and population which once distinguished Wiltshire, the speaker mentioned that there were more mills specified in Domesday Book as existing in Wiltshire than in any other county in England. That gave indirect evidence of the superior wealth and industry that characterised Wiltshire in former times. The county was not possessed of the great source of wealth of modern time, as it did not abound with coal, which attracts population and wealth; but they had memorials and proofs of the wealth and prosperity which distinguished the district in bygone centuries, and they ought to value and cherish them. Mr. Bouverie referred to the success which had marked the operations of the Society, and attributed a large share of that success to the ability and exertions of Canon Jackson who was one of the originators of the institution. One of the things which must strike thinking minds in looking back into the dim past was the amazing contrast between the manners and customs of the times in which we live and those of remote periods. It had often been said that in these days "The poor were poorer, and the rich were richer than in past times," but one part of that statement was certainly untrue. No doubt there was now a vast accumulation of wealth, but he fully believed that if we had more perfect means of comparing the position of the people now classed as poor, with that

of the poor of a thousand years ago, they would see a great advance and improvement had taken place. No one who carefully compared the hardships which the great bulk of the people in past centuries had to endure, with the position of the poor at the present time, could come to any other conclusion but that their condition had much improved. If they looked back through the written history of this country they could scarcely fail to remark that up to about 200 years ago, there were perpetual disturbances—civil wars, bloodshed and ill-will. Those who were acquainted with the history of this county were aware that it was the great battle field of contending factions, and the opposing parties seemed to have met and fought here for the very reason he had mentioned, perhaps, because Wiltshire was more wealthy and populous than many other parts of the country, and thus Wiltshire had frequently been the scene of strife from the time of the conflicts between the Saxons and the Danes in the reign of King Alfred, down to the seventeenth century, when in the battle of Roundway Down, Sir William Waller was defeated by the King's troops. We were now in the enjoyment of peace, which was, as it were, the outcome of the times of suffering to which he had alluded. Those things, happily for us, belonged to the past, and we were now enjoying the good results of the troubles and trials of our forefathers. Let us try, by investigating their history, and seeing how they endured those misfortunes, and how we had advanced far beyond their condition, to aim at something still higher and better for ourselves, and those who should come after us, and each, in his own sphere, strive to promote the advancement, peace, and prosperity of our common country.

E. T. Stevens, Esq. (the Hon. Curator of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury), in seconding the motion, congratulated the members of the Society, on the establishment of the very admirable Museum which would be opened that day. Museums were of two kinds—places where curiosities were deposited, and repositories for a series of objects which, when once scientifically arranged, conveyed instruction which could not be gathered from books. There was one class of knowledge which could only come by an examination of objects. He therefore congratulated them, not only on having a collection,

but on having it so excellently and correctly arranged. For this the thanks of the Society were eminently due to Mr. Cunnington. There were three rooms in the Museum, each of which contained the germ of a perfect collection. The first was devoted to ethnography, and contained a collection of "savagery," with other illustrations of that study, each one correctly described, and the localities mentioned. Then they had a place for the "Palæolithic," or old-stone, period, containing some of the earliest implements they were acquainted with; and also the "Neolithic"—the new or rubbed stone—period. In the next room was a fair series to illustrate the bronze and the iron periods. The British pottery, too, was a good representative collection, and altogether the objects themselves and the arrangement were such as to make this a very valuable Museum and of great interest to the county.

Mr. Merewether, Q.C., proposed, and Mr. Meek seconded, the re-election of the Secretaries, the Committee, and the other officers of the Society.

The President then addressed the meeting. He said he was now called upon to take his part in the day's proceedings, but he did so with great diffidence after the able and eloquent speech of Mr. Bouverie. Although Mr. Bouverie had expressed himself as wanting in knowledge as regards archæology, he had nevertheless shewn that he was conversant with those subjects in which all Wiltshiremen must feel a special interest. He (Mr. Goldney) had just returned from Scotland, where similar meetings to this had lately been held, and he was pleased to say that at those gatherings the same anxiety had been manifested with regard to the preservation of the records of the country. He feared he should prove a very inefficient President as compared with those who had preceded him in the office, but he was thankful to have such aid as would be afforded by Canon Jackson, by the able Secretaries, Mr. Smith and Mr. Cunnington, and other gentlemen connected with the Society.

At a time when science was making such rapid strides in every direction, it was especially incumbent upon them to cherish a regard for the history of the past, as Mr. Bouverie had told them; to preserve some record of old institutions, the habits and customs, and laws of

bygone ages; all of which were the objects of archæology. I will (continued the President), illustrate what I mean. I saw the other day an old book called a Custumal, in the writing of an ancestor of the present Earl Spencer, relating to the manor of Wimbledon, which applies very much to what I am saying. He formed a sort of archæological society by calling all his tenants together, and all the holders of land and property in the parish and district—and he commences the custumal thus. Henry VII. :—

"Inasmuch as the human mind is not able to remember everything (because if it were able, transcribing would be but waste of labour), and because writing frequently and properly brings back things to the memory (and by the weakness of the mind very often things fall away and become uncertain), I will compile those things on account of the customs of Wymbledon, so far used and lawfully obtained by the assistance of writing for perpetual remembrance in this work."

Amongst other things in this Custumal, it is stated that the tenants of the Manor ought to pay the Archbishop of Canterbury, on first coming into his archbishopric, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, for the purchase of a palfrey; but it goes on to say that certain Archbishops had, and were accustomed to have on their first coming (although with complaining of the tenants), a certain gift from the tenants called *saddlesilver*, to wit, 10 marks; yet this is not done because the tenants assert that it was a sinister way at first [£6 13*s.* 4*d.* is still paid]. The Earl seems from this custumal and some other old books to have carried out the maxim of Captain Cuttle in "Dombey and Son," "when found make a note of," though his illustrations are not always correct. In the Proverbs of Solomon you will find these words, "May we never want a friend in need nor a bottle to give him,"—when found make a note of. There is a large tract of land near London called Wimbledon, that has been preserved in the family ever since, and this payment is made upon it, and has amounted to a considerable sum, although it does not tend to any great public benefit. What I mean to show is that archæology finds the materials for history; and a proof of this is afforded in the Museum.

It has been frequently observed that archæology is a science which demands almost the labour of a whole life to gain a proficiency in, and it has been described as a language, without a grammar or

dictionary to assist the study. What it really comprehends in its popular sense is "A general inquiry of all that men have known and done in every mode of life, since the earliest known epochs of history." What your first President (Mr. Scrope) stated to be the object of this Society was, "*For the purpose of encouraging and promoting to the utmost possible degree the study of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the antiquities of our county, together with its numerous objects of natural history; for disseminating as far as possible, through all ranks of society, a knowledge of every fact tending to illustrate these interesting subjects; and for the formation of a Museum for preserving objects of interest connected with these subjects.*" So here you have the large general scope of archæology—and the more limited and special sphere of the object of the Wiltshire Society—the one general, this practically local. Of all the great branches of human knowledge, history is that upon which most has been written, and which has been most popular; and the confidence in history, and the success of historians, certainly of modern historians, is mainly based on the increased knowledge of the past, which increased industry and research have afforded. Antiquities of every kind have been examined, the sites of ancient cities have been laid bare, coins dug up and deciphered, inscriptions copied, alphabets restored, hieroglyphics interpreted, and in some cases long-forgotten languages re-constructed and re-arranged; the laws which regulate the changes of human speech have been discovered, and by them the most obscure periods in the early migration of nations have been elucidated. But notwithstanding all this, the study of the movements of man is still in its infancy as compared with the study of the movements of nature; and it is only as nations advance more and more to a high state of culture that they are anxious and studious in these matters. Every branch of archæological research, however humble, tends to show more and more clearly the history of man's progress and the developement of his civilization. Domestic architecture, military architecture, ecclesiastical architecture, roads, fences, bridges, customs, sepulchral mounds, traditionary laws, and even the names of plants, all are worthy of our attention, and each of them expressive of some distinct phase of society. Take, for instance,

what I have referred to last—the names of plants and trees, and these prove, what has been ascertained also by other evidence, that the tribes which in early times entered Europe and descended upon Britain, and the eastern races which eventually in their progress broke up the Roman Empire, were not a set of savages or mere pirates and warriors, as has been represented, but were colonists, who, rude as they may have been in dress and manners, were, in all essential points, already a civilized people; and by the names of plants, as used by them, and which are in use at the present day, we discern that these tribes came from their homes with a knowledge of letters, and the useful metals, with nearly all the domestic animals; that they cultivated oats, barley, wheat, rye and beans, built houses of timber and thatched them, and, what is more important, as shewing that their pasture and arable land was intermixed and acknowledged as private property, they hedged their fields and fenced their gardens, so that, although our ancestors may have been indebted to the provincials of the Roman Empire for their fruit trees and some other luxuries, for a knowledge of the fine arts and the Latin literature, and a debased Christianity; the more essential acquirements upon which their prosperity and progress as a nation depended, were already in their possession. Bush, hawthorn, oats, wheat, and a host of others, are unquestionably native names and not of Latin or Celtic origin. It is the study of these things which gives value to history. The vast majority of historians have filled their works with the most trifling details—of personal anecdotes of kings and courts, and long accounts of battles and seiges—whilst they have altogether neglected the important facts necessary to the study of the history of man, and which archæologists are now endeavouring to supply by a determined and protracted industry; they had both to be masons and architects, and not only trace the scheme of the edifice, but also the excavation of the quarry. Many of the old customs and reliques perpetuate history, and charitable gifts and foundations show the local wants of a people and district, from which you can not only build up theories but demonstrate facts. Archæologists, like naturalists, are frequently able to decide on the principle of harmony, and from single stones in a building to determine the

history of its structure; like the striking fact, admitted by zoologists, that the teeth of each animal have a necessary connection with the entire organization of its frame, so that within certain limits we can predict the entire organization by simply examining the tooth. When the true path of enquiry has once been indicated the rest is comparatively easy. Archæologists, by their labours, are collecting materials for the history of man, the noblest, and at the same time the most arduous of all pursuits.

> "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,
> The proper study of mankind is Man."

I want to rescue archæology from the general charge that has been made of its being a mere idle pastime. Let me glance at the merits and advantages of our own Association. Wiltshire is rich in objects of antiquity, and possesses a mass of illustrations. We have castles and towns of different periods, ages, and races; tombs, barrows, and Druidical temples, tessellated pavements, Roman villas, great Roman roads, abbeys, with specimens of Anglo-Saxon architecture, like Malmesbury Abbey Church; Norman arches and shafts, abbeys of the Early English like Bradenstoke; and of the florid English, like Lacock; stone crosses, preaching crosses, market crosses; some of the finest specimens of civil and domestic architecture, like South Wraxhall; and ancient bridges, and bells; and ancient historians, like Aubrey, Sir R. Hoare, and Britton, and our present most worthy historian and chronicler, Canon Jackson. With such materials before us we have all the temptations requisite to induce us to become archæologists. But we do not stop here; we offer in addition pleasant excursions, cheerful company, and very frequently the most attractive hospitality and sumptuous refreshment, in order to relieve the more arduous labours—so that the Wiltshire archæological life, like the human life, considered as a whole, may be said to have two distinct branches, one branch being characteristic of pleasant excursions and modern social life, and the other of the march of knowledge by the study of the habits of men and manners of preceding centuries. Perhaps some of the present company are not aware of the simile, and have never considered that they have a double existence. Plants may

have only one life, but man has certainly two distinct lives, which are governed by entirely different laws. The life which is confined to animals is called animal life, that which is common to both animals and vegetables is called organic life. In his organic life man exists solely for himself, he is simply like a vegetable limited to the process of digestion, circulation and nutrition, in common with plants; but in his animal life it is different, all the organs are essentially symmetrical, and a very slight departure from the ordinary type impairs their action. The life which we have in common with vegetables never sleeps, and if its movements entirely cease only for a single instant, they cease for ever. But the other life you may refresh, not only in sleep, but even when you are awake; you can walk while you rest the brain, or use one eye, or one hand, and rest the other. Now let us go back to archæology. Walter Scott, in his "Monastery," shows the pleasure to be derived from mild archæology, in the autobiography of Captain Clutterbuck, who as a retired soldier, first tries fishing, then shooting, then a turning-lathe, and then books, but all failed in giving him the required occupation. In fishing he lost his line and hooks, and got no fish; in shooting he got laughed at for missing; the turning-lathe nearly took his fingers off; and the books sent him to sleep; until at last he had nothing to do but to walk into the churchyard and whistle till dinner time. In conclusion, the President quoted an ancient document, 170 years old, to prove the truth of what Mr. Bouverie had said, that the idea was unfounded which had of late years obtained credit, and that, though the rich might be richer now than in the days of old, it was very certain that the poor are not poorer.

On the motion of the Rev. A. C. Smith a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the President, who then formally declared the new Museum and Library open, and congratulated the meeting on the thoroughly satisfactory manner in which its object had been accomplished. Great credit was due to their Secretaries and to several other gentlemen, prominent among whom was Mr. Meek, for the valuable assistance they had rendered, and the hard work that they had done. He would urge upon all to remember the value of articles, even of a trifling nature, which afforded some evidence of the past,

and as an instance, called attention to the South Kensington Museum, which had now arrived at an admirable state of perfection, and had tended more to raise the character of English manufactures during the last half century than anything else. He, therefore, trusted that the Society's Museum would receive a large number of interesting articles.

The Rev. Canon JACKSON said he could not quit the room (which, however, he had entered with no intention of making a speech) without expressing his gratification for the kindness he had received both from the speaker and those present. He was conscious, however, of having done only what he could for the Society, and was one of those, who, twenty-one years ago, stood on that very platform with the late Marquis of Lansdowne in the chair, at the inaugural meeting of the Society. He promised then to do what he could, and he had endeavoured to fulfil his promise. He was very pleased to see the hall in 1874 contain more supporters than it did in 1853. It spoke of progress, and as the report told them they were twenty-one years old, certainly it would appear that they had arrived at years of discretion. He congratulated the Society on that fact most sincerely. During those twenty-one years the members had written some fourteen volumes, which were now very rare in the market, and the speaker asked, what would they be twenty-one years hence? The finance had been kept in good order, there were 300 members on the books, they had just established a Museum—and yet, the language of the law said they had but arrived at years of discretion. Twenty-one years hence, he supposed, would find that discretion would be absolute wisdom. In conclusion, the rev. gentleman said he sincerely trusted that as the old supporters of the Society became incapacitated, through old age, from continuing their exertions, there would be young members who would carry on the work.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH remarked that the Society, from the first, had contemplated the formation of the Museum that had just been formally opened. From various reasons, however, they had not been able to carry out their intentions until now, and he was very sorry that two of those who had been most active in their work were not now with them—he alluded to Mr. Wittey and Dr. Thurnam, both of

whom had worked cordially and heartily in the cause. Two years ago Mr. Wittey, who was then Mayor of Devizes, threw himself zealously into the work, and it was in great measure owing to his exertions that the subscriptions were collected for the purpose. To Mr. Spicer too, who was then High Sheriff for the county, they were in no small degree indebted; he had come forward and taken the chair at the public meeting held to consider the question, and he had headed a subscription list for the formation of the Museum with a donation of £50, and it was mainly due to him that the project was carried out so soon. For himself, he (the speaker) must disclaim any praise, for he had had but very little to do with the Museum. The real hard work had devolved upon his colleague, Mr. Cunnington, he was the actual worker, and to him the very best thanks of the meeting were due.

Mr. Cunnington felt that he had only done his duty to the Society. In its earliest days many difficulties had to be met, but year after year he had been pleased to see it progressing satisfactorily. In reference to the Museum, the speaker said it was a very difficult matter to arrange so many specimens in a short time. He had had valuable assistance from Mr. Jackson, Mr. Nott, Mr. Hillier, Mr. Clark, and many others, including some members of his own family. Still it had been a work of considerable difficulty.

The collection of birds was a very good one, and among them there were three specimens of bustards, one of which was the largest known. Of fossils there was a very large collection indeed; but his desire to give prominence to Wiltshire specimens had induced him to exhibit only such as belonged to the county. Consequently, the display was not so large as it might have been. There was a large collection bequeathed by Mrs. Wetherall, but three-parts of it still remained in the drawers. Others had been presented by the Bishop of Brisbane, and bequeathed by the late Col. Olivier. Mr. Codrington had supplied them with some fine Wiltshire sponges, during the past year. There were valuable contributions in coins, while the collection of iron implements was a very fair one indeed. The specimens of British pottery were particularly interesting; some of them are of elegant form, whilst others are remarkable from

their very rudeness; he had the opinion of noted archæologists that some of the urns are the rudest they had ever seen, they were such as any child might form with its hands out of clay or other plastic material. He recommended attention to the drawings sent by Mr. Richmond, and also one by Lawrence, dated Devizes, September 9th, 1787, which was a very small but interesting specimen of that period of the artist's life; also to some very valuable coins and medals, kindly lent by Mrs. Kenrick; and to an interesting collection of models of celebrated diamonds, by Mr. Gregory, of London.

This concluded the morning meeting: and then the President and officers of the Society, headed by the Mayor and Corporation in their robes of office, and preceded by the mace, &c., formally walked in procession to the new Museum and Library, when the President duly unlocked the door, and followed by the whole body of archæologists, visited every portion of the premises, which called forth loud marks of approbation, and the Museum and Library were declared open.

The treasures here collected engrossed the attention of many of the visitors for the rest of the afternoon: others, reserving the Museum for another opportunity, pleasantly employed the interval before dinner by inspecting some of the more noteworthy objects in the town: some visiting the fine old churches of St. John and St. Mary; others, the admirable collection of British birds at Mr. Tugwell's; and others, the magnificent geological collection of Mr. Cunnington: though nearly all found opportunity to wander over "The Devizes Castle," and its beautiful grounds, which were most hospitably thrown open to their inspection by Mr. Leach.

THE DINNER

took place at the Bear Hotel, at five o'clock, at which about seventy of the members and their friends were present. After the usual loyal toasts, the President, in proposing the health of the Bishop and Clergy, referred to the pilgrimage to Pontigny, and pointed out that the Saint honoured there was in A.D. 1200 both a dignitary and a priest of a town near Devizes. St. Edmund was rector of

Calne, subsequently a canon of Salisbury, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury.

Other toasts followed, according to custom. In reply to the health of the Mayor (Mr. Reynolds), who had warmly welcomed the Society to Devizes, and done everything in his power to facilitate the work of the Museum, that gentleman said, that although he did not pretend to a knowledge of archæology, there were many matters connected with the past in which he took an interest. He had noticed, and perhaps many present might have done so, the great desire which any one who had had the misfortune to lose a dear friend exhibited to preserve some memorial of him, and to remember what he was like; and the same feeling animated them with regard to their remote ancestors—they all desired to know how they lived, how they loved, how they fought, &c., all of which would, but for such societies as this, be a dead book. In this respect they were constantly meeting, as it were, with an oyster, with no knife well tempered enough to open it, and if the archæologists had done no other good, the busy, money-making people were under a great debt of gratitude to them for what they had done in this respect.

The officers of the Society, President, Secretaries, Secretary to the meeting, were all duly honoured; as were also the ladies, whose kind assistance at our archæological meetings adds in no small degree to their pleasure, and the company adjourned to the Town Hall for

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

The President took the chair at 7.30, p.m., when the following papers were read in succession: "The History of the Parish of Potterne," by the Rev. Prebendary Jones, F.S.A.; "On the Porch House of Potterne," by the Rev. A. C. Smith; "On Wolfhall and the Seymours," by the Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A. It will be unnecessary to make any extracts or to comment on these papers, as they will all appear in due course in the pages of the Magazine. Tea and coffee and other refreshments were liberally provided by the Mayor and Corporation, who left nothing undone which could conduce to the comfort or convenience of the archæologists.

SECOND DAY, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH.

A thoroughly wet morning damped the ardour of some of the archæologists, and caused them to forego the pleasant excursion which had been arranged. Others, more hardy or more enthusiastic, carried out a portion of the programme, though they too were compelled by the elements to abridge the intended route. First they drove to Potterne, where the Ven. Archdeacon Buchanan received them at the church, and conducted them over the building, pointing out the many objects of interest in this grand old specimen of Early Gothic architecture, calling especial attention to the very ancient font, not long since exhumed, and by many supposed to be veritable Saxon; and here sundry details were discussed, and opinions were elicited, which are some of the most valuable results of our archæological excursions. Thence to the old Porch House, where Mr. Richmond, R.A., welcomed them with a blazing fire in the old hall, and courteously led them above and below stairs and let them wander at will, and gaze to their content; and a real treat it was to see so fine and so old a building in course of being so admirably restored. Thence to Eastwell House, which attracted due respect from its antiquity, and where our archæologists feasted not only their eyes, for Mrs. Grubbe had hospitably provided refreshments, and these too must be discussed. Thence, by a straight course to Keevil, omitting the intermediate part of the programme; and here the famous old Manor House, inhabited by Colonel Wallington, was visited and thoroughly inspected (thanks to the courtesy of its inmates), from garret to basement. The old timber house was also examined, and so, with a passing glance at Keevil Church, home to Devizes.

SECOND CONVERSAZIONE.

The President took the chair at 7.30, p.m., and again the company were regaled with tea and coffee and other refreshments by the very hospitable Mayor and Corporation of Devizes. Three papers were read, on the following subjects: "On a plea for the Moles," by the Rev. A. C. Smith; "On some curiosities of Parochial Registers," by the Rev. W. C. Plenderleath; and "on the Old House at Spye

Park," by C. H. Talbot, Esq. These too, it is hoped, will all appear in turn in the Magazine; and need not therefore be farther alluded to here.

At the conclusion of the meeting, as this was the last occasion of assembling in Devizes, during the present congress, cordial votes of thanks were moved to the President, to the several readers of papers, and to all who had been instrumental in catering for the Society, not forgetting under this head, the Mayor and Corporation.

THIRD DAY, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH.

Again the skies proved unpropitious, and reduced the archœologists to a limited number, though, but for the inclement weather, very many had announced their intention of joining in the excursion to-day. Some fifty or sixty ladies and gentlemen, however, braved the elements, and accomplished the round. The route lay first by Bishops Cannings, where the elegant Early English church demanded a prolonged halt; thence over the downs, by Wans Dyke and the Roman Road, through Heddington and by Wans House, to Spye Park, where Mr. Spicer right hospitably entertained the Society at dinner, and indeed had made preparations to entertain double the number: and in truth double in number would the guests have been, but for the wet weather. Kind and cordial were the words with which Mr. and Mrs. Spicer welcomed the Society to Spye Park, and loud and hearty was the applause elicited by the proposal of a vote of thanks to them, moved by Mr. Wyndham. Spye gate was, of course, examined, and then by Chittoe Church and Bromham Church back to Devizes.

The following is an abstract from the list of articles kindly contributed to the Loan Museum. Many of them are of particular local interest, and attracted much notice during the meeting.

Those marked with an asterisk have been presented to the Society.

By W. P. HAYWARD, Esq., *Wedhampton*:—

*Ammonites Sutherlandiæ, *Ammonites perarmatus (disjointed cast), and Gryphæa, from Cale. Grit., Seend. Six weapons, of fine workmanship, from New Zealand and the South Seas. *Ancient British urn, from Wilsford Down. Collection of coins, chiefly Roman. Australian bow. *Portion of human cranium, of remarkably low type, dug up on Wilsford Down.

By the President, G. GOLDNEY, Esq., *Chippenham*:—

Original deed of gift by Maud Heath, 12th June, 14 Edw. IV.

By GEORGE RICHMOND, Esq., R.A.,:—

An early pencil drawing by Lawrence, subject, a female head, with the inscription: "T. Lawrence, Devizes, 1787, aged 9 years."

By Mrs. COLSTON, *Roundway Park*:—

Gold ornaments and Anglo-Saxon Bucket, from barrow on Roundway Hill.

By J. REYNOLDS GWATKIN, Esq., *Nonsuch House*:—

Affghan Spear taken by General Dacres Evans, in the Affghan war. Sea weeds, from the Red Sea. Block of native tin, from Gwendron, Cornwall. Fossil tooth of Hippopotamus, from Sewalik Hills. Specimen of serrated coal.

By Mrs. KENRICK, *Seend*:—

Crystals of black tourmaline, from Bovey Tracey. Fossil wood, Portland Oolite, from Swindon. Cabinet containing many hundred coins, chiefly British. Case of four gold medals, presented to the late F. Chamberlayne, Esq., by the Empress of Russia, through Count Woronzow. A twenty-shilling and a ten-shilling piece, in silver, of Charles I., struck at Oxford. A two-sovereign piece in gold, of the same reign.

By W. HILLIER, Esq., *Devizes*:—

Carved club, from Fiji. Stuffed birds, viz., Green Woodpecker, Stone Curlew, Dotterell, Corncrake, Quail, shot at Winterbourne Monkton. Ammonites, Lias, from near Bath. Fine specimen of Meandrina. A case of recent shells.

By. Mr. CUNNINGTON, *Devizes*:—

Painting by T. Barker, of fossil horns of Bos, from Melksham. Bones of fossil mammalia, viz., Great Cave Bear, Hippopotamus, Bison, Reindeer, Rhinoceros, Mammoth, Gigantic Ox, Red Deer, from Westbury. Rhinoceros, from Bulford. Rhinoceros, from Bradford-on-Avon. Rhizopods, from the Drift, at Broughton Gifford. Tooth of Elephas primigenius, from Manningford. Shells, from the Drift, at Manningford. Crapaudine locket, (described vol. xii., p. 249), from St. John's churchyard. Two drawers of fossil Echinoderms, from Upper-Green-Sand of Wiltshire (40 species). Mass of Gryphæa vesiculosa, Upper-Green-Sand, Devizes. Mass of Gryphæa (exogyra) conica, Upper-Green-Sand, Little Cheverell. Remains of urn (restored), from barrow on Beckhampton Downs. Roman coins, and two bronze fibulæ, from Botley, near Baydon. Iron fibula, from Wedhampton. Flint knife, flakes, and pottery, from barrow at Oldbury Hill. Group of ferns, bleached by a new process. Sack pottle, 1562. Photograph of Magna Charta. Large case of paleolithic implements. Case of neolithic implements. Implements, viz., bronze celts, penannular brooch, and ring dial, from Oldbury Hill Two views of the Market Place, Devizes, date 1804 and 1818. Basket ornamented with Wiltshire mosses. *Cyanide of titanium, zinc, &c., a furnace product, from Westbury Iron Works. *Diceras Lonsdalii, Lower-Green-Sand, from Calne. Ancient needlework, with design from Barker's Bible, dated, 1610.

By T. B. Fox, Esq., J.P., *Devizes*:—

Two glass cases, with models, to scale, of all the English cathedrals. Two early crayon portraits by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Twenty cases of stuffed birds. Eleven cases British birds' eggs, comprising 250 varieties.

By Mr. D. A. Gibbs, *Devizes*:—
Gwillim's Heraldry, 1632.

By Miss Hollis, *Devizes*:—
German watch, temp. Elizabeth. Enamel portrait by Sir Peter Lelly.

By Capt. Whittington, *Fiddington*:—
*Fine bow, *three arrows, *waddy, and boomerang, from Australia.

By C. H. Talbot, Esq., *Lacock*:
Iron instrument of uncertain use, from Lacock. Three veterbræ of Pleiosaurus, from Nethermore, Chippenham.

By Capt. Bradford, Mayor of *Wootton Bassett*:
The cucking stool (See Wilts Mag., vol. i., 68), from Wootton Bassett.

Mr. Wood, *Chippenham*:—
Veterbra of Pleiosaurus, Oxford Clay (from Drift), at Sutton Benger.

By H. Butcher, Esq,, *Devizes*:—
Plan of Old Sarum. Dore's map of Devizes. *Autograph of the great Duke of Marlborough.

By Messrs. H. F. & E. Bull, *Devizes*:—
Portraits by Sir Thomas Lawrence of his father and mother.

By H. N. Goddard, Esq., *Cliffe Pypard Manor*:—
Encaustic tiles from Cliffe Pypard Church.

By Mr. Thomas Chandler, *Devizes*:—
*Brass horse trapping, 1759.

By Mr. J. R. Gregory, *London*:—
Twenty-three models of celebrated diamonds. Thirty fine specimens of minerals.

By the Rev. E. C. Awdry, *Kington St. Michael*:—
Clog almanack, and engraving of the same.

By S. A. Jeffreys, Esq., *Melksham*:—
Group of twenty-one stuffed specimens of rare British birds. Two specimens of the Wiltshire Great Bustard. Seven other cases of stuffed British birds.

By Messrs. Grant & Son, *Devizes*:—
Stuffed mole, otter, and wild swan. Eight cases of stuffed birds, various.

By Mr. I. Clark, *Heddington*:—
Roman urn, imbricated pattern, from near Heddington.

By Miss E. Clark, *Heddington*:—
Embroidered apron with silver lace.

By Mr. John Ball, *Melksham*:—
Two handsome old carved chairs. Five Indian weapons, &c.

By S. Reynolds, Esq., Mayor of *Devizes*:—
Speed's Great Britain, 1676.

By the Rev. C. Soames, *Mildenhall*:—
Four rare British coins (including one unique specimen).

By Mrs. Spicer, *Spye Park*:—
Bronze fibula, from the Old House, Spye Park.

By J. W. King, Esq., *Everleigh*:—
Water-colour drawing of Roman pavement at Pitney, Somerset.

By J. W. G. Spicer, Esq., *Spye Park*:—

*Waterproof dress, made of membrane of seals, and *Tappa cloth shawl, from the Fiji Islands.

By Mr. B. Mullings, *Devizes*:—

Various articles of dress, from China. Mandarin's full dress. Chinese idol. Double-barbed spears from South Seas. Model of Eastern outrigger canoe.

By the Rev. P. Peace, *Devizes*:—

Pencil drawing, by Sir T. Lawrence. Engraving of Charles I.

By A. Meek, Esq., *Devizes*:—

Oil painting, Devizes Market Place, about 1814. MS. Illuminated book, containing copies of the Devizes Charters.

By Mr. H. G. Barrey, *Devizes*:—

Processional cross. Impression of seal. Two spear heads, found on Beckhampton Down. Roman coin, found near Silbury Hill. Three bronze implements. Bronze knife, three bronze awls, and whetstone, found to the east of Wansdyke.

By J. E. Nightingale, Esq., *Wilton*:—

Photographs of Wiltshire Churches. Four roundells. Fine carvings in ivory.

By the Rev. T. F. Ravenshaw, *Pewsey*:—

Painting, Sunrise at Stonehenge, 2nd November, 1873, by Tristam Ellis. Etching, Moonlight at Stonehenge, by Slocombe.

By Mr. John Bush, *Bristol*:—

*Sermon on death of S. Wright, by John Filkes, 1712.

By W. Stancomb, Esq., *Blount's Court, Potterne*:—

Six Roman coins, and seal with four arms, found in pulling down a cottage at Potterne.

By Edward Waylen, Esq., *Devizes*:—

Painting of Simeon and the Infant Jesus, attributed to Vanderburgh. Engravings of *Malmesbury, *Lacock, and *Wardour Castle, by Buck.

By the Rev. H. F. Edgell, *Worton*:—

Hammock, from Nicaragua. Specimen of inlaid work, from the Mosque of San Sophia, at Constantinople.

By Miss A. Cunnington, *Devizes*:—

*Collection of freshwater and terrestrial Wiltshire shells.

By T. B. Anstie, Esq., *Devizes*:—

Water bottle and stone implements, from the South Seas.

Wulfhall and the Seymours.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A. *

BY way of introduction to this paper, I borrow from a very high authority, a few sentences that seem to describe with great accuracy, the particular kind of research that falls within the province of the Archæologist.

Lord Chancellor Bacon, in his "Treatise on the Advancement of Learning," is speaking of *Civil History*. He says, "It is of three kinds, not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images; for of pictures or images, we see, some are *unfinished*, some are *perfect*, and some are *defaced*. So of Histories we may find three kinds; Memorials, Perfect Histories, and Antiquities; for Memorials are history unfinished, or the first rough drafts of history; and Antiquities are history defaced or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time. Memorials, unfinished, are preparatory notes, to serve the compiler of the perfect history. Antiquities, or the remnants of history, are, as was said, fragments from a wreck; when industrious persons, by an exact, and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

I do not remember to have ever met with a happier and more cheering description of our pursuits; for they now and then need refreshment. I mean by refreshment, the encouraging approval of thoughtful and intellectual men. We are twitted, sometimes, with spending our time in raking into old rubbish, wearing out our eyes with decyphering faded handwriting, and the like: so it is well to be able to exhibit as an answer the deliberate judgment of so great

* Read before the Wiltshire Archæological Society, at Devizes, Tuesday, September, 8th, 1874, when the original documents from Longleat, out of which it was chiefly compiled, were exhibited by the kind permission of the Marquis of Bath.

a man as Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, viz., that of the three branches of Civil History, "Antiquities" is one. Among obscure sources, he enumerates "Words,"—we all know how much attention has been of late years given to this subject; and how much curious history is often wrapped up in an old word. "Monuments;" the great trial for the Shrewsbury Peerage is a proof of their importance, where so much often depends upon the preservation of an inscription. "Private Records and Evidences,"—It is my very business this evening to endeavour to show you what they can do for us in the case of an Old Wiltshire Mansion House now no more, and its family (old also, but still vigorous),—WULFHALL and THE SEYMOURS.

The family of Seymour, Duke of Somerset, though the Title was taken from the neighbouring county, has been for centuries connected with our own. It fills a very exalted place in English History, for it is able to say, what very few can say, that a single generation of brothers and sisters supplied a Queen of England, a Protector of the Realm, and a Husband to a Queen Dowager. Of course the public and political career of those distinguished personages is to be found in our English Histories, and the genealogical account of the family in Books of the Peerage; but there are some smaller and more private matters, relating to themselves, in connection with our neighbourhood, which, having been recovered from the wreck of time, will be considered, I hope, a not unsuitable subject for the evening ears of a Wiltshire Archæological audience.

In the large collection of Old Documents at Longleat, which I had the pleasure of bringing out into the light and identifying, there happens to be an unusual number that relate to the Seymour family, especially to the Protector Duke; and though I will not say that there are any State Papers of the highest importance, still, there are papers of considerable value affecting certain historical transactions in which, as you will hear, one or two of his family were involved. Besides correcting, in a few points, the usual accounts of those events, these papers supply *us*, who take interest more particularly in Wiltshire History, with a good deal of new material for our purpose.

The Name appears to have been anciently spelled St. Maur. They had, among other residences, a Castle called by their name, near Penhow, in the county Monmouth, and also Hatch Beauchamp, in the county of Somerset.[1] There being no occasion to go into all their early history, I begin with them when they came into the county of Wilts. This was in the reign of Henry V. (A.D. 1413), when a Roger St. Maur of Hatch Beauchamp, by marrying the daughter and heiress of the old Wiltshire family of Esturmy, became owner of Wulfhall.

In order to know exactly where Wulfhall is, you are to suppose yourselves on the railway going from Devizes towards London. Stop at Savernake Station, get out and walk along the towing path of the canal by the side of the railway for about a mile beyond the station, take the first turn to the right, and you are at Wulfhall. All that is left of the old mansion is a picturesque little red-brick house with tall chimneys, called the Laundry. It stands at the foot of a rising ground, on the top of which, about 250 yards off, is the old farm house and large barton of Wulfhall.

As to the meaning of the name, I would merely say that it has

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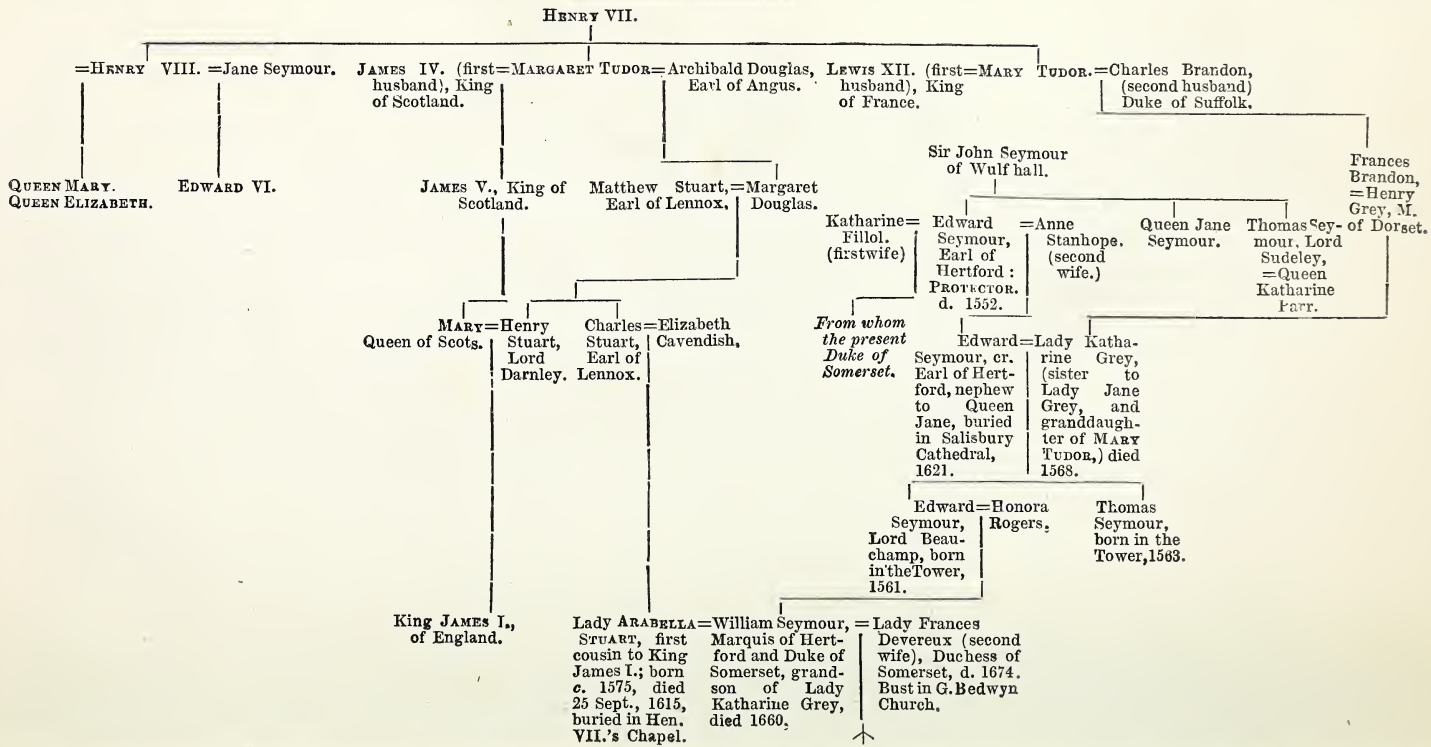
[1] Mr. J. R. Planché (Brit. Archæol. Journ., 1856, p. 325) says: "There are two families of St. Maur. The St. Maurs or Seymours of Kingston Seymour, in Somersetshire, who trace their pedigree to Milo de Sancto Mauro, who, with his wife Agnes, is named in a fine roll of King John; and the St. Maurs or Seymours of Penhow, Monmouthshire, from which the present ducal house of Somerset descends. All our genealogists, from Dugdale downwards, are scrupulous in observing that there is no connexion whatever between the two families, who bore different arms and settled in different counties, and I freely admit there is no connection to be traced between them from the earliest date to which they have proved their pedigree; but that fact by no means satisfies me that they did not branch from the same Norman stock. We have no proof that there were two St. Maurs who came over with the Conqueror (probably from St. Maure sur Loire in la Haute Touraine), nor can we assert that if there were two or more, they were not, as in many similar instances, near kinsmen. . . . . That their arms should be different is no proof at all, for although a similarity in their bearings would be strong evidence in favour of some connection, it is one of the most common things in the world to find, in those early days of heraldry, the son bearing a coat quite distinct from that of his father, as he did frequently a perfectly different name." The St. Maurs of Kingston bore Argent, two chevrons gules, a label of five points. The St. Maurs of Penhow, Gules, a pair of wings conjoined in lure or.

TABLE, showing the alliance of LADY ARABELLA STUART, LADY CATHARINE GREY, and THE SEYMOURS, with the Crown of England.



nothing to do with the *animal* wolf. The first syllable is spelled in the Domesday Record, "*Ulf*," which was probably the name of some more ancient owner. The people of the neighbourhood still keep up the original pronunciation, calling it "Oolfall."[1]

Between the laundry and the old farm house stood the mansion of Wulfhall, the residence first of the Esturmy and then of the Seymour family, about a mile outside of Savernake Forest, and commanding a view of it.

Sir John Seymour of Wulfhall, who died 1536 (28 Hen. VIII.), had married a Wentworth of Nettlested; by whom he had, with other children, the three so famous in English History, Jane Seymour (Queen of Henry VIII., and mother of Edward VI.), Edward Seymour, the Protector, and Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley, who married Queen Katherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII. There is every reason to believe that Queen Jane Seymour and her brothers were born at their father's house at Wulfhall; but the Registers of the parish of Great Bedwyn are not old enough to tell us.

The Manor of Wulfhall, as appears from an old Survey, consisted at that time of about 1270 acres, including what was, and still is, called "Suddene Park," also a "Horse Park," and a "Red Deer Park." (*Appendix, No.* i.) About the house, which is said to have

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[1] The name in the Wiltshire Domesday is *Ulfela*. In the same volume we have an Ulf as a land-holder at Bradford-on-Avon. At Lincoln, in 1049, there was a Clerk of the name of Ulph: and at York they still show a horn of one Ulphus, a Dane. The name has come down to our own time. In the Obituary of the *Times* newspaper, in April last, appeared the death of John Burt Ulph, Esq., of St. Ives, Cornwall. Similarity of sound deceived Leland and Tanner. The former (Itin., ix., 36) calls it, in Latin, "Lupinum, villa splendida Semarii:" also in his "Genethliacon, Edw. vi."

> "Vergit in occasum fœcunda Severia tellus.
> Illic Semarius, vir bello strenuus, amplam
> Incoluit villam, quæ nomine dicta *Lupinum*."

Tanner (Bibliot. Brit. Hibern.) speaks of certain Epistles written by Edward (the future Protector) son of John Seymour "de Puteo Lupino vulgo Wolf-hall." *Puteus* Lupinus, however, begging the learned Bishop Tanner's pardon, would not be first-rate Latin for Wolf-*hall*: but it would do, as Latin, for the Saxon "Wolf-*hol*," a wolf's pit or den. The derivation of Wulf-hall being thus obscure, etymologists may choose. To the writer, Ulf, as an owner's name, seems the most probable.

been timber-framed, there were several gardens, "the Great paled garden," "My Old lady's garden," and My Young Lady's garden." There was a Long Gallery, a Little court, a Broad chamber: and a *Chapel:* as appears from these entries in the Household Book;

*"Paid for a pastall for the Chapel, of 1 lb weight, 17*d.*"

†"Two morteyses for the Sepulchre, 13 lb. 1*s.* 6*d.*"

"Two tapers for the Chapel, 6*d.* Frankincense, 1*d.*

There was also a Kennel of Hounds. About the house was an Establishment of 44 men of various positions, and 7 females. The highest, the Steward, received £3 10*s.* 0*d.* a year; the lowest, two Turnbroches (turnspits), each 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. (*Appendix, No.* ii.)

Queen Jane Seymour was married at Wulfhall, in 1536, the year of her father's death. In the farm-yard is still standing the fine old barn made of wood and thatched, in which her wedding festivities were kept. The Rev. G. Stallard, of Grafton, has kindly furnished me with a drawing of it, for the purpose of being preserved in our Magazine, which is the more desirable, because the old barn is in a most dilapidated condition, especially as to the roof, and unless speedily restored will soon cease to be the national curiosity that it is. It is 172 feet long, by 26 feet wide, inside, and there are still to be seen, against some of the beams and walls, nails or hooks to which were attached the tapestry and hangings used to smarten it up for the dancers at Queen Jane's wedding. I was in hopes of being able to meet with all the particulars of that affair, but was disappointed. There is however, an account of part of the expenses of carpenter's work in altering Westminster Hall for her Coronation. (*Appendix, No.* iii.) She died October, 1537, after about a year-and-a-half of married life.[1] In August, 1539, a few months before the King's next marriage, with Anne of Cleves, (which took place in January, 1540,) the King and his whole Court came down to Wulfhall on a visit to Edward Seymour, the late Queen Jane's brother, afterwards Protector, but at that time Earl of Hertford. Of this Royal visit every particular is preserved in the large Household

* "Pastall:" meaning probably "Paschall," a large wax candle used at Easter.

† Morteyses: a kind of taper.

[1] For the account of some tapestry and bed furniture worked by Queen Jane Seymour, see Appendix, No. xix.

Room in which the Wedding Festivities were held on the Marriage of King Henry VIII.

Book now on the table, so far at least as regards the provision of food. (*Appendix, No.* iv.) I have never seen this visit of Henry into Wiltshire mentioned in books, so we may reckon it as a small "fragment recovered from the wreck of time." The items of the account are curious enough, but being too long to read now will do very well to print, as a specimen of the formal and careful way in which kitchen expenses were controlled in those days. It would not be amiss if in great modern establishments some such just and proper register were kept for every day. There would be much less waste and robbery, without any diminution of hospitality. The book itself also is a very fair specimen of its class. Our Elizabethan forefathers were very stately in these things. They did not use those insignificant pass books in red leather, stamped with the butcher or baker's name, which supply our ladies with a little exercise in arithmetic every Monday morning, but they kept large substantial and portly volumes, strongly bound, with arms, devices, and sometimes groups of sacred subjects stamped on the cover, The paper (all of foreign manufacture) is as thick, and almost as durable, as parchment. The expenses of every kind, for every meal, with the number of guests and names of visitors, are duly entered; and in many instances, every page, or at least monthly summary, is formally signed by the master or mistress with as much solemnity as if he or she were executing a will.

Another of the Earl's account books corroborates the tradition about the old barn having been used for the wedding dance (1536), for when King Henry came down to Wulfhall on the occasion I am now speaking of, in 1539, the old barn, being the largest room they had, was again in requisition.

"Paid to Cornish the paynter for dyvers colours by him bought, for makyng certeyn fretts & antiques on canves for my lord's Barn and House at Wulf haull agenst the King's coming thether 9th Aug. and for his cost in being sent to London for the same colours."—31*s.* 8*d.*

It seems, from the next entry, that the Earl of Hertford and family gave up the house at Wulfhall to make room for the King, and occupied the old barn themselves:—

"Paid by the hands of Thomas Hethe to certain painters, joynera, carpenters masons and others, for their wages in preparing and trimming of the Barne at Wulf hall wherein my lord lay and kept his house during the King's abode

there, and also for the ridding cleansing and garnishing of the Manor of Wulfhall wherein the King lay, and also to Penham Lodge,* where my Lord's mother and children lay.—£68 10*s*. 10*d*."

The King, with his whole household and nobility, arrived at Wulfhall, Saturday, 9th August, 1539. They remained Sunday, Monday and Tuesday following. How or where so many were lodged does not appear; but "covers" as we should call them, "messes" as the book calls them, were laid for 200 the first day. There are only two meals a day accounted for: and as it appears all through the book, that on Saturdays as well as Fridays, no meat was eaten, the King's supper, on his arrival, consisted only of fish.[1] Country places in Wiltshire must have been better supplied with that article than they are now; for the bill of fare presents (for 200, observe) pikes, salmon, gils, tenches, lobsters, bream, plaice, trouts, congers, carps, roach, eels, potted sea-fish, and salmon pasties, a sack of oysters, salt "haberdine" (codfish salted at Aberdeen), soles and whitings.

The next day being Sunday, there were messes for 400, and the provision amounted to 6 oxen, 24 muttons, 12 veals, 5 cygnets, 21 great capons, 7 good capons, 11 Kentish capons, 3 doz. and 6 coarse capons, 70 pullets, 91 chicken, 38 quails, 9 mews, 6 egrets, 2 shields of brawn, 7 swans, 2 cranes, 2 storks, only 3 pheasants, 40 partridges, 4 peachicks, 21 snipe, besides larks and brewes[2]—whatever they were.

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* Perhaps an error for Tottenham Lodge, which is sometimes miscalled in these old papers, Topenham.

[1] Abstinence from flesh on those *two* days was ordered by a Royal Proclamation, not only for health and discipline, but "for the benefit of the commonwealth and *profit of the fishing trade*." This view of the matter is also (somewhat curiously) taken up in one of our old Homilies ("On Fasting, Part 2.,,) where the eating of fish (as a variety of abstinence) is recommended "upon policy, not respecting any religion at all in the same: as whereby the increase of victuals on the land may the better be cherished, to the reducing of the price to the poor, and also fisher-towns bordering on the sea be maintained for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners, to the furniture of the navy and defence of the realme."

[2] This fowl is mentioned as a dish on King Richard the Second's table (Antiq. Repertory i., 78), where a commentator suggests "*perhaps* grouse." Also at a feast, temp. Hen. VII. (Leland's Collect. iv., 227) in company with "fesaunt" and "partricche:" but in this instance the word is spelled "browes." Not finding it in any dictionary at hand, the only conjecture I can offer is that it was some kind of moor-fowl: a "moor-cock" in French being "coq *bruyant*," and a black cock, "coq de bruyére."

The number of mouths is accounted for, when I find that the gentry of the neighbourhood who were invited thought it becoming their dignity to bring a rather large part of their respective establishments with them: for among others are my Lady Hungerford with six servants and gentlewomen; Sir Anthony Hungerford, my Lady his wife and 8 servants; Master Wroughton with 5; my Lady Darrell with 4; Sir John Brydges with 8.

The expense of all this seems however not to have fallen upon the master of Wulfhall. The King's own officers and purveyors provided the greater part of it, and presents from the neighbours came in aid.

The particulars, of which I have given only a few, relate solely to the King's visit to Wulfhall; but in other account-books of this Earl of Hertford (afterwards Protector Somerset) there is a vast number of curious miscellaneous entries, which supply a good deal of information as to the modes of living and state of the country in those days. In fact it is chiefly from obscure sources of this kind that we really learn most about the manners and habits of our forefathers. In stately and elaborate histories, such things are omitted. There the great personages pass before us on the stage in their solemn dress of State—Kings, Queens, Prime Ministers, Cardinals, &c., just as you see them at a play; but the household and private accounts of a great man, admit us, as it were, behind the scenes, and we see how they lived and what they did, in a nearer and more familiar way.

Lord Macaulay is one of the few who are not indifferent to these things. "It will be my endeavour," he says, "not to pass by with neglect, even the revolutions which have taken place in dress, repasts, and public amusements. I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English people of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors."

We may not perhaps all of us agree with Lord Macaulay in the political complexion of his history, or approve the use he has made of his materials, but nobody, I suppose, reproaches him for having descended below the dignity of history, in giving us such details.

But where did he get them from? Why, either by himself, or others for him, raking into venerable rubbish, digging into repositories of old family papers, and the like; using, as Lord Chancellor Bacon bade us, antiquities and archæology as one branch of history.

A few extracts from these account books (see more in *Appendix, No.* v.) bring the Earl of Hertford before us in his Wiltshire life. His journies, for instance, about the neighbourhood, were attended with an expense to which a "Special train" would be a trifle :—

"Paid for 36 horses of my Lord's Train standing in divers places when my Lord lay one night at my Lord Hungerford's at Farley Castle.
For the same one night at Sir Henry Long's.
For the same one night in the Abbey of Malmesbury.
For 37 horses one night when my Lord lay at Bradstoke Abbey.
For 40 horses one night at The Devizes when my Lord lay at Mr. Ernley's.
For shoeing horses bringing up my Lord's revenues.

His very rents were brought up in coin on horseback, there being no cheques and penny stamps in those days.

Then his little boy, Lord Beauchamp, has to be sent on a visit, and to be brought home again :—

"Paid to Mr. Seymour for his own and 2 carters' and 4 horses' expenses, bringing a *wagon* from Wulfhall to Twickenham to carry my Lord Beauchamp, and returning to Wulfhall again." *

Sometimes I find him hunting wild boars in Savernake Forest, and paying 4d. for hempen halters to bind their legs with; sometimes hawking in Collingbourne Woods.

In 1541 are entries of little amusements in very respectable company—Losing 1*s.* 4*d.* "unto the Bishop of Rochester at Guildford,

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* The drivers being called "carters," it might at first sight be supposed that the "wagon" was the same kind of broad-wheeled heavy conveyance with lumbering cart-horses, as that which is now so called. But before coaches were introduced, a lighter vehicle of that name was commonly used by the highest classes. "In 1583, the day after Lady Mary Sidney entered Shrewsbury in her *wagon*, that valiant Knight Sir Henry Sidney, her husband, made his appearance in his *wagon*, with his Trumpeters blowing, very joyfully to behold." (Nichols's Progresses, II, 309). There is a very old Wiltshire tradition that Sir Thomas Hungerford, of Farley Castle, when he went up to London to take his seat in Parliament, as First Speaker of the House of Commons, travelled in a wagon. Collins, in his Peerage, also mentions that the body of Sir John Thynne, the Builder of Longleat, was carried in a wagon to Longbridge Deverill Church. In both these cases, the lighter kind of carriage is most probably meant. But both before and after this period the words *cart* and *carter* were used for a chariot and charioteer. "The *carter* over-ridden with his *cart*" (Chaucer, The Knight's Tale). "Full thirty times hath Phœbus' *cart* gone round Neptune's salt wash" (Hamlet).

at shooting." Again, winning 35*s.* at cards, "which my Lord did win that same night he did sup at Lambeth with my Lord of Canterbury."

King Henry's visit to Wulfhall, just described, was in August, 1539. He was there again in 1543—as I find some of his servants quartered at Burbage, and a bill for their expenses. (*Appendix,No.*vi.)

He died about four years afterwards, viz., on 28th January, 1547, and Jane Seymour's son, Edward VI., then between 9 and 10 years old, became King of England. His uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, became Protector of his nephew, and by that title we must now call him. Sir John Thynne, the founder of Longleat (though this house was not built for many years afterwards), had been through life one of the most confidential friends of Protector Somerset, and whilst the Protector attended to affairs of State, Sir John conducted for him all private business and matters relating to his property. Hence it happens that so many of the Protector's private papers are preserved at Longleat. His purchases and grants of land were enormous. The mere names of the manors fill two or three columns. He had several residences in or near London, as at Richmond, Sion House, and elsewhere; so that I fear our old timber house at Wulfhall, outside Savernake Forest, did not receive much attention.[1] It would probably be unable to contain so great a man as Protector Somerset, suddenly elevated from the rank of a Wiltshire gentleman to be King over the King of England It is well-known that one of the charges brought against him by his rivals was that he had dropped the ordinary singular pronoun "I," and began his communications with the Royal plural "We." Of this there are several instances in his letters at Longleat. It used to be in former days—"Good Mr. Thynne, I have received your letters, &c., ending,

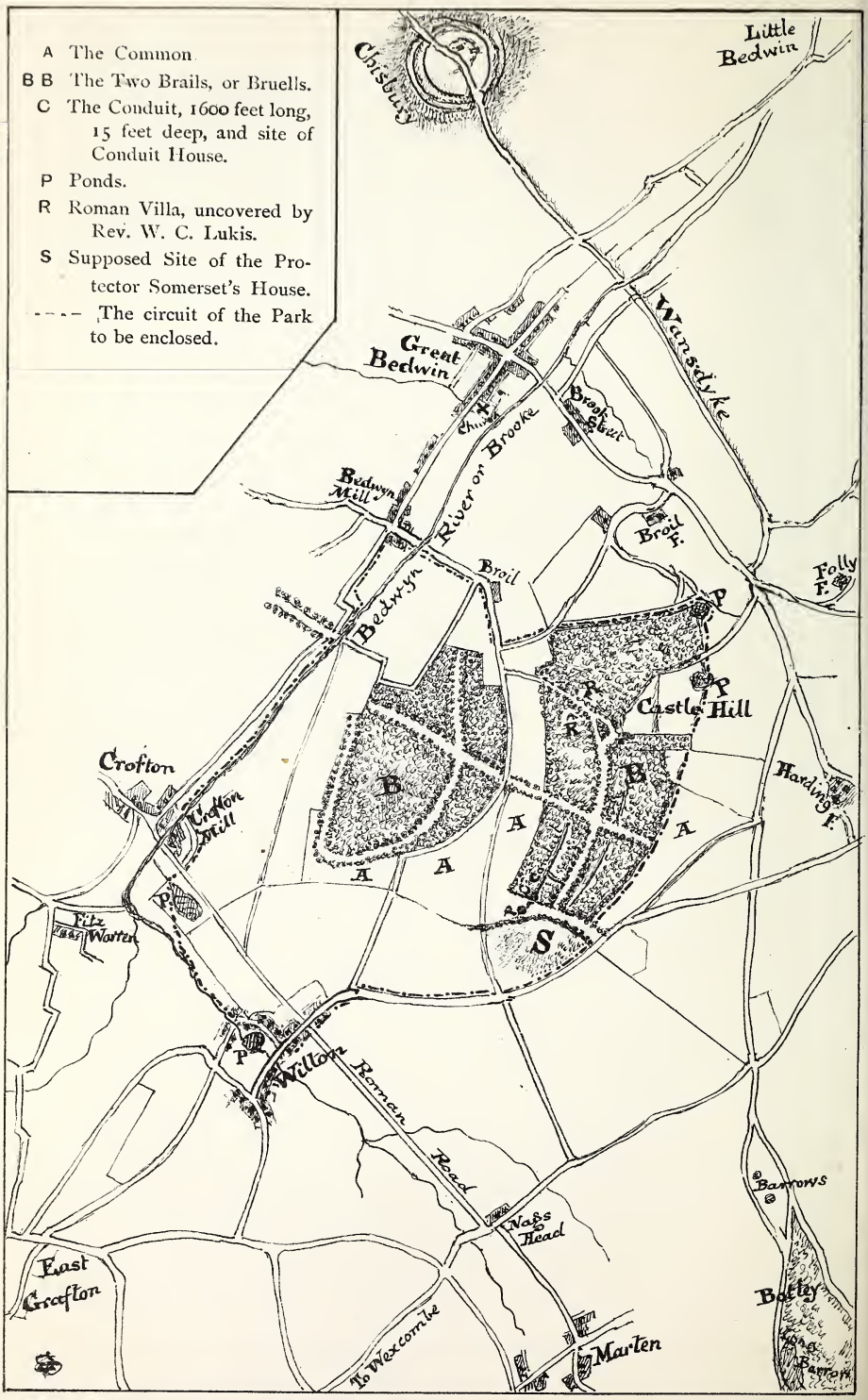
[1] Sir John Thynne held at this time by a lease of 1546 the Prebend or Parsonage of Great Bedwyn from the Earl of Hertford: and Sir John seems also to have held the lands at Wulf-hall: for in 1547, being abroad with the Earl on the expedition to Boulogne (which ended in the peace made between Guisnes and Ardres), he writes from Newhaven (Havre) to his steward Mr. Dodd, "Further I wol you forget not to sell all my olde Jads (jades) at Wulfehaull whiche before I willed you to sell, & see that my mares & colts be marked, & sende me word how many I have of all sorts at Wulfhaull or Elvetham."

"And thus I bid you heartily farewell." But my Lord's Grace the Protector's new style is—"*We* have received your letters," and "*We* bid you heartily farewell." I have brought two of his letters which show this. Still, though he may not have often visited the old family house, he bought all he could round it; and the greater part of his vast possessions certainly lay in this county and in Somerset.

Besides Wulfhall and Tottenham Lodge, the Duke of Somerset had a residence at Easton, a dissolved Priory near Pewsey. (*Appendix, No.* vii.) But from the Longleat Papers I have made the rather interesting discovery, that it certainly was his intention to build a new house, upon some very large scale, not exactly on the site of Wulfhall, but very near it, rather more towards Great Bedwyn. Those who are acquainted with that neighbourhood will know the high ground consisting of two wooded hills, with Wilton Common lying between them, called Bedwyn Brail. The word Brail used often to be pronounced Broyl, which is merely a provincial variety of one and the same word, signifying (in old French, "Breuil," in mediæval Latin, "Brolium," or "Bruelletum," and in Anglo-Saxon, "Broel,") open pasture ground studded with thickets and timber. Near Ringmer, in Sussex, there is an old house, with large well-timbered park, called Broyle Place, most likely of the same origin.

The *two* hills called Bedwyn Brail, or Broil, command a fine view down the Vale of Pewsey, westward; and on one of them this new palace was to have been built. In the letters written to Sir John Thynne by stewards and other local agents (*Appendix, No.* viii), are described the large preparations going on—the providing of water, searching for stone, enclosure of a park, brick making, orders for Purbeck stone, &c. &c. One letter in particular dwells upon the progress they are making in a large conduit or channel for bringing water to the new house, and reports that this conduit had been dug to the length of 1600 feet, and part thereof 15 feet deep. (*Appendix No.* viii., 3 and 10.)

There were so many references in these letters to local names of mills and commons and the like, to be enclosed within the new park, that I determined to use my own eyes and tongue, and see if we could not make out something more about this palace which Protector



Cowell's Anastatic Press, Ipswich

Somerset intended to build in this his native county. I was more particularly struck by the circumstance of the conduit for water 1600 feet long and 15 feet deep, as a rather important work, not likely to be easily obliterated, and one of which some traces might still be recoverable. So I went over some little time ago on an exploring expedition to Wulfhall, and with Mr. Stallard, walked about the hills and fairly identified the outline of the proposed park.

A day or two afterwards, I had the pleasure of hearing that he had been again to the woods, had discovered the remains of the conduit for water, had measured it and found it 1598 feet long (*see the Plan, a little above the letter* S).

The conduit-digging and other preparations took place, according to these letters, in 1548 and 1549, the beginning of Edward VI. and of the Protector Somerset's reign. A few months afterwards, the wheel of fortune gave a violent turn. The Protector was deposed from power, and in January 1552, sinking under the assault of his rivals, was beheaded on Tower Hill. So the great house was never finished on Bedwyn Brail.

I come now to the next owner of Wulfhall:

Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Son of Protector Somerset.

The Protector had been twice married; but through the influence of his second wife Anne Stanhope, the children of the first marriage were set aside, and the title and larger part of the estate entailed upon the children of the second. The eldest of these, Edward, was only about 12 or 13 years old at the time of his father's execution, and being wholly deprived (not by his Father's *attainder*, which was for felony only, not treason, but by a special Act of Parliament procured by enemies,) of all dignities and lands, found himself reduced to plain, and penniless, Edward Seymour. Sir John Thynne having been for so many years intimately acquainted with his father's affairs, was the person immediately applied to and consulted with, about measures to be taken for his benefit. (*Appendix, No.* ix.) Queen Mary (though opposed to him in religion) wished to create him Earl of Hertford, and restore to him such lands as the Protector had been possessed of at the death of King Henry VIII., 1547. (*Appendix,*

No. ix., *Letter* 2.) But in this she was over-ruled. Queen Elizabeth, however, on coming to the throne, raised him to that Earldom, and restored to him certain lands, viz., those (and only those) which his father had been in possession of in the year 1537, by *inheritance*. This included Wulfhall, Savernake, &c. The rest (namely lands acquired by the Protector, by purchase, &c.) were lost. (*Appendix, No.* x.)

The young Earl made his condition worse by an indiscreet clandestine marriage with a young lady of the most important political position, the Lady Katharine Grey, sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Under the Will of Henry VIII., the Greys, though descended from a younger sister of the King's, were preferred, in the Succession, to the descendants from an elder sister. Such a will was, of course, the cause of infinite perplexity to the Statesmen of the day. It was set aside; but Queen Elizabeth was exposed to continual plots and conspiracies arising from it; and not being over-partial to successors of any kind, she more particularly disliked Lady Katharine Grey, the representative of the youngest branch. So that, when young Edward Seymour, without the leave and even the knowledge of the Queen, had the audacity to marry Lady Katharine, the result may be easily anticipated.

Here might be introduced a long and lamentable story, but a very few words must suffice.

Upon the Queen's discovery of the marriage (but not until several months after the event), the young couple were committed to the Tower, in 1561, with strict order to be kept apart. But Her Majesty's precautions against the appearance of any issue in this line of succession came too late. The first son, Edward Lord Beauchamp, was born a few days after their committal, and in course of time, in February, 1563, a second son, Thomas Seymour; both within the Tower walls. On the birth of the second, the case became very serious. The Earl was summoned before the Star Chamber, and fined in the very large sum of £15,000, and both were condemned to remain in prison. Owing to the plague breaking out, they were removed elsewhere for a time, but on returning to the Tower, and her health beginning to give way, they were again transferred to

private custody, and Lady Katharine died at Sir Owen Hopton's house, January 26th, 1568.[1]

This affair was at the time an important State question, and as it occupies a place in all our histories, I am glad to be able to supply one or two items of information about it, which ought to correct the history for the future.

The first is one which quite alters the matter of the fine. It certainly, at first, was £15,000, and this has often been pointed at as an instance of Elizabeth's hard-heartedness; but the real truth is this:—That heavy sum was named, *in terrorem*, to warn others. The Queen herself, immediately excused £10,000. Of the remaining £5000, she insisted upon rather more than £1000 down, and certainly did mean to make the young gentleman pay the rest; but through the intercession of the Ministers about her, and on the Earl's own full and respectful submission, the whole of the rest was ultimately excused, and he escaped for the precise sum of £1187. This I can safely state to have been the case, because the Earl's own account of the matter, together with a copy of the warrant for his discharge, are now on the table. (*Appendix, No.* xi.)

The period during which he was under surveillance, or actually in prison, has also never been exactly known and is variously stated by writers. In his own account, just referred to, the Earl says that "he patiently endured her Majesty's displeasure, in prison," ten years lacking one month.[2]

[1] It may be mentioned here that in the Inscription on the Earl of Hertford's monument in Salisbury Cathedral, the date of Lady Katharine's death was cut wrong by the stone-mason, who by twice omitting the Roman capital V, made it to be January xxii., MDCLXIII, *instead* of January xxvii., MDCLX*V*III (January 22nd, 1563, instead of January 27th, 1568). It is strange that the errors should not have been corrected. Dr. Rawlinson (Antiq. of Cath. Ch. of Sal. p. 88) has perpetuated these wrong dates; and he has also printed *Richardum* instead of "*Edoardum*" for the Earl's eldest son (which is right in the original inscription); besides one or two other literal errors.

[2] The Earl certainly remained in bondage until about August, 1571, and among the Longleat Papers there is a lamentable petition from him (probably one of many) written when actually *in* prison (see Appendix, xii., 1.). But for the greater part of the time, judging from the easy tone of his letters and the variety of houses of the gentry from which he writes, such restraint, though no doubt a great hinderance to him, was a widely different thing from being shut up "in prison." There is also a letter from Lady Katharine to her husband (Appendix, xii., 2.) written in a vein of unusual gaiety for a captive.

Another discovery of considerable interest as connected with the touching misfortunes of this eminent historical couple, I made by the very merest accident.

I was one day very busy working by myself in arranging papers in the Old Library, at the top of Longleat House, and I happened to be trying to fasten together two sheets of a pedigree which had parted company. All tables being covered with piles of papers, I laid it on the floor. Old vellum that has been rolled up close for perhaps 200 years, is, I must assure you, a very obstinate and rebellious article to deal with. So, having gummed together the edges of the two sheets, kneeling with one knee on one corner, the other knee on a second corner, and one hand on a third, I wanted a weight to keep down the fourth. I was within a yard or so of the bookshelves, but I was afraid to get up from my position, because, if I had, my pedigree would most certainly have sprung up after me. So, looking out for some shabby old volume that would take no great harm by a tumble on to the floor, I spied one without any binding, I gave a desperate jerk, could just hook it with the tip of my forefinger, and down it came. As it came down, a loose leaf flew out to a distance. I did not look to see what the book was till it had done its duty. I then examined it, and found it was a small French Bible, having the motto of the Seymour family, "Foy pour devoir," written at the top of the title page, and the name "E. Hertford," written at the bottom. On picking up the loose leaf, I found that the little book was actually the very Bible used by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey in the Tower of London; and on the loose leaf were written by the Earl the entries of the births of the two sons, Edward Lord Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour; followed by a truly pathetic prayer, in French, for God's blessing on them, and that Queen Elizabeth's heart might be moved to have pity on the poor parents. (*Appendix, No.* xiii.)

The Queen resented most deeply the slight put upon herself by this secret marriage, and she did all she could to pronounce it, and the issue, illegitimate. The person she was most offended with was Lady Katharine, on account of her being so near in that line of succession, which the Queen detested; though Lady Katharine

herself, like her unfortunate sister, Lady Jane, had no ambition of her own, and both of them probably heartily wished that they had nothing whatever to do with the succession. The Queen may perhaps seem to us to have acted with unnecessary severity; but we are living in the days of Queen Victoria, not of Queen Elizabeth: and there are no conspiracies and plottings now besetting the throne by potentates abroad or fanatics at home, for purposes of their own; we are happily free from troubles upon that score, and to be so free is surely a blessing above all price, if we all did but know it. But things were different then: and the difference should always be remembered, in judging of the conduct of Queen Elizabeth. After the death of Lady Katharine Grey, the Queen was, personally, as kind as it was possible to be, to the Earl of Hertford and his children, and all would have been forgotten, had it not been for another Royal alliance (to be mentioned presently), designed by one of this same Seymour family, which most unluckily coming to her knowledge just before her death, revived all the animosity she had felt against Lady Katharine.

Elizabeth's death-bed is described by a Lady Southwell, an eye-witness.[1] Up to that moment, who the successor was to be was still uncertain; and Secretary Cecil and others, on the night of the 23rd of March, 1603, approached her bed-side, asking her to name one. The old Queen seemed to be already speechless; so they requested her to show, by some sign with her hand, when they should have named the one she liked. She said nothing. They named "The King of France?" Neither word, nor sign. "The King of Scotland?" Again neither. They then ventured the name of "The Lord Beauchamp, the son and heir of Katharine Grey?" She was stirred by the sound of the name: and replied, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a King." According to another account,[2] Cecil then boldly asked her, what she meant by those words, "no rascal should succeed her?" Whereto she answered that "her meaning was, that a King should succeed, and who should

[1] Quarterly Review, vol. 108, p. 439.

[2] Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature, 2nd ser., iii., 107.

that be but our Cousin of Scotland?"[1] It is, however, a remarkable fact in the history of the descent of the Crown, and one not commonly known, that for nearly twelve months after her death, and King James's accession, March 1603, the legal right to the throne, according to the *Statutes then in force*, actually vested in this very Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Katharine Grey. James's *hereditary* pretensions were not acknowledged and ratified by Parliament until March, 1604.[2]

We must now go back to the old house at Wulfhall, the text of my story. The Earl of Hertford having been a minor several years after his father the Protector's execution, came of age about 1559. I find from letters (*Appendix, No.* xiv.) written by him as he drew near his majority, that he had proposed to come down into the county, where he was quite unknown, to be introduced by Sir John Thynne to some of the principal friends near his place, and to stop there for a fortnight to shoot bucks for the benefit of the said friends; and he hoped Sir John would let him have 100 marks for the expenses of his journey. But it was just after this design that the troubles of his marriage and imprisonment began. So that for those ten years, lacking one month, he saw very little of Wulfhall until 1569. Early in that year, (six after Lady Katharine's death), he sends down into Wiltshire a letter to Sir John Thynne for some information as to the condition of his house, which he had heard on credible report was in the way of utter ruin, and desiring some estimates to be obtained of the entire expense of putting it into repair. *Appendix, No.* xiv., 5.) Something in this way was done, for in September of that year (1569) he writes from Wulfhall

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[1] Readers in the *present* day, accustomed to attach to the word "*rascal*" the sense of "*scoundrel*," would instantly, and most properly, be glad to put a charitable construction upon the poor Queen's language, and say that in the moment of expiring faculties she had forgotten herself. But there seems to be no occasion for this. *Rascal* was a word of the Forest, and at that time was used to signify a lean or inferior deer, as distinguished from those in full condition. All that the Queen probably meant was, that she would have for her succesor one of *full blood Royal*: not one whose blood was of less fine quality. The word is so used, with reference to deer, in *Appendix, No.* vii., *Letter* 4.

[2] Sir H. Nicolas. Chronology of History, p. 320.

(spelling the name, by the way, just as the people still call it, *Ulfhall*), that he has pulled down a tower, and is clearing away rotten timber and decayed iron. There are more letters in 1573, 1574, and 1575. But by that time the letters refer no longer to the repairing of the old family house, but to the enlargement of a hunting lodge in the Forest, then called Tottenham Lodge. (*Appendix, No.* xv.) There are many orders about walks, gardens, &c., all of which must have been finished about 1582, for his letters are then dated from Tottenham Lodge; and he was expecting the Queen to visit him in 1583. These letters show what I just observed, viz., that the Queen's vexation about his marriage had been directed not so much against him personally as against Katharine Grey; or at any rate that her anger against him was smoothed down: for now that Katharine Grey had been dead several years, I find the Earl of Hertford constantly, not only at Court, but staying with her Majesty on visits. The two boys also, Lord Beauchamp (the "*rascal's son*" of this great lady's dying moments), and his brother, were frequently with her. She took much interest in them, used to ask about their learning, how they got on, &c. In one letter to the Earl, a tutor who was with them on their visit at the Queen's house, writes thus: "With My Lord Beauchamp Her Grace has special speeches, to what effect I know not, but without all doubt for his great good, if he have a prepared mind to follow grave and sound counsel. Her Grace made him fetch his Latin book entitled '*Regula Vitæ*,' and out of the same to read the chapters entitled '*De Veritate, et Mendaciis*' ('*About Truth and Lies*')." (*Appendix, No.* xvi.)

I may in passing, just mention that in these letters I also found what was not known before, that the Queen paid a visit to Longleat, and was greatly pleased with her reception. (*Appendix, No.* xiv., *Letter* 13.) Also a little anecdote about Her Majesty, which I don't suppose has ever seen the light before. One of the ladies in attendance thus writes from the Court at Nonsuch Palace—they had just returned from a ride on horseback: "We were all greatly afraid, for Her Majesty's horse, in stumbling fell withal, and she withal fell, but, as she says, she leapt off from him, but her footman stood her in great stead; but thanks be to God she had no kynde of harm,

and presently after she walked a-foot half a mile. You may think what a fearful sight it was. Her Majesty would have ridden on that horse again, but he would not suffer her to come on his back." (*Appendix, No.* xvii.) I think the horse showed great sagacity.

From these letters, therefore, it seems, that Wulfhall ceased to be the residence of the Seymours about the year 1582, and that the family began about that year to make Tottenham Lodge their residence, such as Tottenham Lodge then was.[1]

Edward Earl of Hertford lived to the great age of 83, and is buried under a magnificent monument in Salisbury Cathedral. Though he was married three times, the remains only of his first wife, Lady Katharine Grey, lie there also, having been removed from the original grave in Middlesex. The Earl died in 1621. His son, Lord Beauchamp, had died before him, so that the next owner of Wulfhall and Tottenham Lodge was the Earl's grandson,

William Seymour Marquis of Hertford.

From his history I can only select one event, but it is the one

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[1] In 1640, Wulfhall Demaines were let by Wm. Marquis of Hertford, to Tenants; John Bransdon held part at £204 16*s*. 0*d*. a year. Edward Savage, another part, at £161 13*s*. 8*d*. The Hop Garden at £3 0*s*. 0*d*., besides other pieces.

In August, 1654, William, Marquis of Hertford, leased, for seven years, to Edward Savage, Sudden Park, in Great Bedwyn, by estimation, 240 acres, with the House called the Lodge. Also a Barn at "Ulphal," called the Oat Barn, and another called the Old Barn, the house called the Wooll (or Well?) House, and the toft called Gate House Toft, all belonging to the site of the Manor House of Wulf-hall. The old materials of Wulfhall, so far as they were of any value, were carried to Tottenham. John Aubrey is the authority for this. Writing about 1672, he says: "The house has been much bigger, and great part pulled down within these 10 years, to build the house of Tocknam Parke."

Of Tottenham Park, which he calls a "romancey place," he says (and he died 1696): "Here is a new complete pile of good architecture." (N. H. of Wilts, 123.) The house he speaks of was much altered under the taste of the Earl of Burlington, about 1717. Wings and a chapel were added in 1722. The late Lord Ailesbury made further additions, which have been continued since his death.

In Gough's Camden, Tottenham is said to have belonged to the Despencers, temp. Edw. II., but this is quite wrong. Camden confounded it with Tockenham, near Wootton Bassett.

which I referred to a few moments ago, as having re-awakened the anger of Queen Elizabeth on her death bed. Mr. William Seymour, though very young, had, in the matter of marriage, committed an indiscretion precisely similar to that of his grandfather, Edward Earl of Hertford. He had betrothed himself, just before the Queen's death, to a lady very near the throne, the Lady Arabella Stuart. This lady was first cousin to King James I., and if that King had died without children, Lady Arabella would certainly have been Queen of England. She was of a very independent, honest, and original mind: had no taste for courts, their grandeur, vices, or follies: but was, from her position, looked upon by others as a proper and convenient person to be made use of for their own intrigues and plots, though she herself knew nothing about them, and was only too glad to keep out of the way. She formed a strong attachment to young William Seymour, and they were clandestinely married, *i.e.*, without the knowledge of King James.

So the story becomes simply a repetition of that of Katharine Grey. Though they had been betrothed (as I have said) just before the Queen's death, they were not actually married till seven years afterwards; but King James was quite as unrelenting as his predecessor, and the treatment which this accomplished and unfortunate Princess, his own first cousin, met with, cannot be read without indignation.

There is a letter of some importance in her history, which could not be known to any of her biographers, having only lately come to light. It is a message from William Seymour to her before the marriage, calling her attention to the inequality of their stations, and suggesting the prudence of breaking it off altogether, on account of the great peril of incurring the King's displeasure. (*Appendix, No.* xviii.)

The secret marriage took place in an apartment in the Palace, then at Greenwich,[1] at a very early hour of the day. Soon after its discovery, they were committed to different prisons, but by concerted

[1] Lady Arabella, closely connected with the Court, had a set of rooms in the old palace then at Greenwich.

plans, and the help of friends, they effected their liberty separately the same day, agreeing to meet at a vessel moored in the Thames, near Gravesend, and so escape together to France. Her boatmen being fearful and impatient, rowed her far beyond the place appointed for meeting. So Seymour, on arriving there and missing her, took another vessel and reached the coast of Flanders in safety. She reached Calais roads, but whilst waiting there in intense anxiety for him, was overtaken by a King's ship called "*The Adventure*," and brought back to the Tower. On the table is a letter from Sir William Monson to the Earl of Salisbury (*Appendix, No.* xix.) relating to this important capture: the marks on which show in what a state of excitement the Government was about this affair. It was sent up to London by express post, and is endorsed with the word "Haste," repeated no less than six times, and with the precise hour of the messenger's arrival at the different stages of his gallop.

Another singular discovery, relating to the Lady Arabella, rewarded my researches at Longleat. I was clearing out a large closet in the Old Library, filled chiefly with bulky account books of the house, going as far as three centuries back. The closet was very dark; so I brought them out one by one, into the sunshine, and laid them, when recognized, each on its proper heap, in the order of the names of the successive owners of the house. I thought I had quite emptied the hiding-place; but, to make sure, went in once more, and luckily detected in the farthest corner, a long narrow book, so much of the colour of the floor, that it had very nearly been overlooked altogether. On being examined, it was headed, on the first page:—

"An Accompt of all soche monies as have bin receyved by me for *my Lady's* use sins the 22nd August, 1609."

This seemed to refer to some lady manager of Longleat, but that would not fit the domestic history: because, in "1609," all accounts would have been rendered to "My Master," and not to "My Lady:" besides which, the items of money received or paid, did not in any way refer to local matters, but to "The Lord Treasurer," "Whitehall," and the like. But no name for "My Lady" was to be found. So the old book was in the act of being closed and laid aside for future

examination, when my eye caught some writing hidden under the fly-leaf. The fly-leaf itself had been pasted down along the edges, to the inside of the parchment cover, but I thought I saw some writing through the fly-leaf. So, taking out my penknife, I carefully released the page, and to my no small surprise found, written in a large bold hand, this memorandum :—

"The 22 of January, 1610, about 4 in the morning, My Lady was married at Greenwich to Mr. William Seymour."

Then followed the names of the witnesses present, and of the officiating minister. Underneath, two more memoranda :—

"The 8 of July, Mr. Seymour was committed to the Tower."
"The 9th of the same month My Lady to Sir Thomas Parry's."

It was, in a word, an account book of the Lady Arabella's kept by her secretary, Mr. Crompton; with an entry by him, on the last leaf, of the particulars of his Lady's secret marriage. (*Appendix, No.* xx.)

All that had been hitherto discovered upon this subject, is thus given by the latest biographer of the Lady Arabella :—

"Seymour and his friend Rodney, set off for Greenwich, where they arrived at midnight. They waited till morning, when the marriage was celebrated in the apartment of Arabella, Rodney and two servants being the witnesses. No record of the marriage has been discovered, nor the name of the priest who officiated. The secresy requisite to the safety of the parties probably is the cause of this. Perhaps at some future time, among dusty records, they may be found."[1]

The book itself turned out to be rather curious, being a Register of a kind of Royal Progress she had made from London to Chatsworth, and the return journey to London. This is a part of the poor Princess's life quite unknown to her biographers, so that we

[1] Miss E. Cooper's Life of Lady Arabella Seymour, ii., 110. Since the publication of her book, in 1866, she has found among the Tanner MSS. at Oxford, the original "Confession," signed by William Seymour: a copy of which she has kindly sent me. With this confession Mr. Crompton's Memoranda in the old account book at Longleat exactly correspond. (See *Appendix, No.* xxi.)

may add this to our list of little "fragments recovered from the shipwreck of time."

After her first committal, Lady Arabella was, for a time, removed to private custody, but, on being sent back to the Tower, her mind began to give way, and in a few years she died there of grief in 1615. There are two fine portraits of her at Longleat, and twenty-eight of her letters addressed to Lord Robert Cecil, and her uncle and aunt, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury.[1]

William Seymour was allowed to remain abroad. A letter written to him by his grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, which appears to be new, will be found in the Appendix (No. xxii).

I have only a few more words to say. After Lady Arabella's death, William, Marquis of Hertford, married Lady Frances Devereux, sister and co-heir of the Earl of Essex. He was restored to the Dukedom of Somerset, and died in 1660. The Duchess (of whom there is a fine marble bust in Great Bedwyn Church) survived her husband, and continued to live at Tottenham Park till her death in 1674.

Robert Lord Beauchamp, then her eldest surviving son, died in France, but his body was brought over and interred at Great Bedwyn, January, 1646. The warrant for his corpse to pass was signed by King Charles I. (*Appendix, No.* xxiii.)

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[1] These letters (with many others of the period, now bound in two quarto volumes) appear to have been a portion of the celebrated "Talbot Papers," which were dispersed on the dismantling of Sheffield Castle (the Earl of Shrewsbury's): the history of which affair, so far as then known, is given in a note to Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 49, Edit. 1819. They came into the possession of the first Lord Weymouth, who died in 1714. They were seen at Longleat, and copied by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, about 1754, and his copies are now preserved there in "Sloane MS., 4164." After that time they were probably put away (as often happens) in some very safe place, to be again accidentally brought to light by an inquisitive posterity, for in the "Curiosities of Literature," (Mr. I. Disraeli, 2nd Ser., i., 268, 8vo., 1824,) it is mentioned in a note that the existence at Longleat of certain papers relating to Lady Arabella was *on record*: and Miss Costello (Lives of Eminent Englishwomen, I., 322) says, that though she visited the house and was allowed to search, she could not find or hear of them. They are, however, perfectly safe and in excellent preservation; and were in 1866 printed in Miss E. Cooper's Life of Lady Arabella; not however from the originals, but from Dr. Birch's not quite accurate copies.

By her will dated 7th June, 1673, the Duchess bequeathed to her grand-daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Seymour, the magnificent pedigree of the Seymour Family now preserved at Savernake: also a "great rich bed that was Queen Jane Seymour's." By the document printed in the Appendix (No. xxiv.), it appears that certain tapestrie, bed-furniture, &c., "said to be wrought by Queen Jane," had become the property of the Crown, and had been delivered by King Charles I. to the Duchess's husband, then Marquis of Hertford: but after the King's death, the Commissioners for the sale of his goods, made the Marquis pay sixty pounds for them.[1]

In the Appendix (No. xxv.) will be found a letter with curious particulars of the burial of her husband at Bedwyn in 1660, and (No. xxvi.) a herald Painter's bill for a great deal of finery at her own funeral in 1674.

One of her daughters, Lady Mary Seymour, married Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchelsea: and one of their daughters, Lady Frances Finch, married Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth. To her the Duchess gave the moiety of the Irish estates of Devereux, Earl of Essex, which has descended to the Marquis of Bath.[2] William, third Duke of Somerset, having died 1671, a minor and unmarried, the Wulfhall and other estates passed to his sister and heir, Lady Elizabeth Seymour (above-mentioned), who in 1676 married Thomas, second Earl of Ailesbury.

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[1] Upon the decease of the Duchess, the Bed and other articles, plate, pictures, &c., were delivered by her Executor, Thomas Thynne (first Lord Weymouth), to Lady Elizabeth Seymour, whose receipt for the same, together with a list of them, is at Longleat. The tapestry would probably have been Queen Jane's handy work at her father's house at Wulfhall.

[2] This also, in addition to the reason given above, p.149, accounts for so many papers and documents relating to the Seymour Family being found at Longleat.

APPENDIX.

Original Documents relating to Wulfhall and the Seymours.[1]

1. *Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards the Protector Duke of Somerset.*

i. Survey of Wulfhall : *temp.* Edw. VI.

ii. Payments and Wages to Household there.

iii. Carpenter's work for alterations at the Palace of Westminster, against the Coronation of Queen Jane Seymour.

iv. Expenses of Entertainment of King Henry VIII. and his Nobility at Wulfhall, August, 1539. Gratuities and Rewards.

v. Extract from the Earl of Hertford's account books, illustrative of domestic life, prices, &c., viz. :

1. Travelling Expenses.
2. Sports and Amusements.
3. Rewards and Gratuities.
4. New Year's Gifts.
5. For his young son, Edward.
6. Salaries, Fines, Payments to the Crown, &c.
7. Miscellaneous Payments.
8. Receipts.

vi. Notice of another Visit of King Henry VIII. to Wulfhall in 1543.

vii. Easton Priory, near Pewsey.

viii. Letters relating to the intended building of a House by the Protector Somerset, at Bedwyn Brail.

2. *Edw. Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Son of Protector Somerset.*

ix. Letters from William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, and Anne (Stanhope) widow of Protector Somerset, to Sir John Thynne about her son's affairs.

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[1] All these documents, except No. xxi., are at Longleat.

x. Earl of Hertford's Statement to the Lord Treasurer, about his Lands.

xi. Ditto Statement sent to Sir Francis Walsingham, about the Fine of £15,000.

xii. Letter of Earl of Hertford to the Council from prison; and Letter from Lady Katharine Grey to her husband.

xiii. Account of the Bible used in the Tower by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey, found at Longleat.

xiv. Letters from the Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne, about Wulfhall.

xv. Tottenham Lodge; the Household there, A.D. 1582. Letter from R. Smyth, the Chaplain, to the Earl of Hertford.

xvi. Mr. Robert Tutt's Letter to the Earl of Hertford, describing Queen Elizabeth's kindness to his two sons.

xvii. Frances Howard, the Earl's second wife, to him. Queen Elizabeth's fall from her horse.

3. *William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, Great Grandson of the Protector.*

xviii. Message from William Seymour to Lady Arabella, suggesting the prudence of breaking off their proposed marriage.

xix. Letter from Sir William Monson to the Earl of Salisbury about the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart.

xx. Memorandum of Lady Arabella's clandestine marriage, on the fly-leaf of Mr. Hugh Crompton's Account Book, found at Longleat.

xxi. William Seymour's Confession (from Tanner MSS., Oxford).

xxii. Letter from William Seymour's Grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, to him when abroad: and another from the same to the Earl of Salisbury.

xxiii. Warrant signed by King Charles I. for the Corpse of Robert Lord Beauchamp (son of William, Marquis of Hertford), to pass from London to Bedwyn.

xxiv. Receipt for the value of the Tapestry and Bed-room Furniture worked by Queen Jane Seymour.

xxv. Letter with particulars of Funeral of William, Duke of Somerset, at Great Bedwyn.

xxvi. The Herald-painters' Bill at the Funeral of Frances (Devereux), widow of William, second Duke of Somerset. May 7th, 1674.

No. I.

Survey of Wulfhall, *temp.* Edw. VI. [From the Register of Protector Somerset's Estates in Co. Wilts.] See page 143.

" To the said Mannor appertayneth 1263 acres 3 yards a half: wherof 2 acres and half a yard be gardyne and orchard and thereof half an acre lyeth in a gardyne within the walls and half a yard lyeth in the gardyne next the said gardyne. And 12 lugges lye in the orchard called Cole-house orchard: And an acre lyeth in the gardyne callyd the Great Palyd Gardyne: And half a yard lyeth in the gardyne called My Young Lady's gardyne. And another half yard lyeth in the gardyne called Myn Olde Lady's Gardyne. And 126 acres be arrable, and every acre is worth by the year 12*d.* And therof 60 acres lye in the fyld callyd the Great Cleye; and 16 in the Little Cleye. And 50 acres in the fyld called the East Cleye. And 14 acres be mede. And every acre is worth by the yere 3*s.* 4*d.* And thereof 4 acres lye in the Mede callyd the West Mede. And 6 acres in the Mede callyd the Well Mede: And 4 in the Mede called the East Mede. And 1122 acres be pasture: and every acre is worth by the yere 2 shillings. And therof 240 acres lye in the Park callyd the Soden Park: and 20 acres in another Park callyd Horse Parke. And 3 acres in Pound Close. And 60 acres lye in the Brome close and Ridge-lands, and 30 acres in Wulfhalls close. And 2 acres in a close callyd Ladelwell-pound, with a small copse growing there, and 200 acres lye in Fwarrants Court, the half wherof belongeth to the Lord Fwarrant.* And 300 acres lye in the park called Topenhays. And 40 acres lye in a Parke callyd Red deer Parke. And 60 acres lye in a close called Horse Sonds and 20 acres in Little Sonds. And 3 acres in a close called Sheryng Close and 4 in a close called West Court. And 100 acres lye in a close called the Bowden and 40 acres lye upon Topenham Hyll, and it is pasture for sheep."†

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* Close to Crofton (or, as it is usually pronounced, Crauton) is a farm called now Free-warren) which, however, is a corruption of the name of an ancient owner: for in 1299 (27 Edw. I.) William Fitzwarren, and in 1479 (19 Edw. IV.) Fulk Fitzwarren, died seised of the Manor of Crofton (I.P.M.) Before this family it had belonged, in 1283, to William de Braboef (I.P.M.)

† The Protector Somerset's account books mention that he had made large plantations at the Great Dych and the New Dych: also a large pond which cost £43 15*s.* 10*d.*: and a Hare Warren at Wexcombe, in 1553. Also that he dyked the springs at Titcombe and near Dodsdown Bush. Dodsdown lies between the wood called Wilton Brail and the hamlet of Wilton. On it was formerly a gibbet, where a man was hanged for murdering a woman in the wood.

No. II.

Payments and Wages to the Chaplain, and certain Servants at Wulfhall, in 1537. See page 144.

	By the Year. £	s.	d.
To Sir James the priest (of the Chapel)	2	0	0
,, Grene the Bailly	1	6	8
,, Vince the Keeper of the Home Park	1	6	8
,, William the Grubber	2	0	0
,, John Wynbolt the under-grubber	0	13	4
,, John, Carter at Wulfhall	1	0	0
,, Wynter, his felowe	1	0	0
,, Gorway the Shepheard att Wulfhall	1	6	8
,, Edy of the Day-house*	1	0	0
,, Jone Cocks her fellowe	1	0	0
,, Henry Bryan, Curatt at Eston for this quarter, after £6 0*s.* 0*d.* by the yere ..	1	10	0
,, Christopher, keeper of the great horses ..	2	0	0
To the seven females	By the Year.		
Winifred Holt	2	0	0
Ann Coles, nurse to my Lord Beauchamp ..	2	13	4
Mr. Edward Seymour's nurse	2	0	0
Margery Garret	1	6	8
Margery Gilman	1	0	0
Elizabeth Burde	0	18	0
Awdry laundress	1	0	0

No. III.

Carpenter's work for alterations at the Palace of Westminster against the Coronation of Queen Jane Seymour. See page 144.

"Extract from the Accounts of James Nedam, the King's Surveyor, relating to the expense incurred at Westminster for the Coronation of Queen Jane Seymour.

Anno XXVIII. R. Hen. VIII. (1536.)

The Kyng's Palis of Westminster agenst the Coronation of Quene Jane.

Payments made and paied by me James Nedam, Clerke and Surveyor Generall of Our Sovereign Lord the King's Works, for works done at his Palis off Westminster by his Grace's commandment, agenst the Coronation of the Quene, as well in wages to artyficers, laborers, clarks, purveyors and others, allso for Emptions and Necessarys bought requisite and necessary for the said Worcks with carrying and re-carrying of the same; As the particuler parts thereof

* *i.e.*, The *Dairy*-house.

more playnlye doethe appere. That is to say—From Sonnday the xxvijth daye of August inclusive, unto Sonneday the xxiiijth daye of September exclusive by the space of four weeks.

CARPENTERS

Worckyng as well of and upon the takyng downe of all the offices in the great hall within the said palis there, as allso makyng of dyvers offyces, with skaffolds for paynters, plasterers, and glasyers to worcke upon. Moreover for the worckyng and makyng of dyverse frames for sundre offices, the Comyn Keychn, boylyng-house, skaldyng-house, and the worckyng-house: with makyng of the Pastrye, larderers and *hachell*-house. * As allso makyng of Tables and Tressells for the sayd offices. And not only preparyng the said hall with Dormy Trestles and plancks for cords upon bothe the sydes of the same hall, and makyng the stayres going up to the Kyng's Benche and the Chancery to the high tables and makyng a half-pace† there with boarding and flowering the comyn place at the surveying place, in the said hall; but allso makyng and setting up all manner of necessarys within the presint of the said palis. Furthermore in makyng of Rayles for Rayling the High waye on both sydes from the said Hall doore throughe the palis, the Kings strete and the Sanctuary unto the West doore of the Abby there. And makyng a skaffold from the said West doore unto the steppes before the High Awlter, with allso framyng a Skaffold before the same awlter, with makyng and framyng dyverse partitions to staye the people from pressyng in at the same tyme of the said Coronation."‡

No. IV.

Entertainment of King Henry VIII. at Wulfhall, August, 1539.

See page 145.

Woulfhall.—Setterday the ixth Daye of Auguste, the Kings Majesty with his Nobility and hole Household, my Lord and my Lady with thare hole Household.

			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Bak-house: Painterie and Pastrie.	Fyne Floure	Bought of the King's officers fyne flour and for the Lords (4 bush.) ..	0	7	0	1	12	3
	Breade.....	Do. (20 doz.) ..	0	20	0			
	Meall	Ditto: for the Pastrie (6 Bushels) ..	0	5	3			
Butterie.	Beere and Aile	Bought of the Kyng's Officers, bere and aill, 2 tuns 3 hogsheads ..	0	75	0	4	0	0
	Ashen cupps	Do. 150 ..	0	5	0			
Celler.	Gascon Wine.	Do. 1 pipe ..	3	0	0	3	3	4
	Swete Wine...	Do.	0	3	4			

* Flax-dressing house. A "hatchell" is an instrument for beating flax.

† A *dais*, or platform. "In the large room where the feast is celebrated, the chief takes his chair of state on a raised *half-pace* at the upper end." (Bacon.)

‡ This extract refers only to Carpenter's work. Eighteen men were charged for at different wages, from 12*d.* to 7*d.* a day. Sum total £xii xii*s.* x*d.* Mr. Nedam, the King's Surveyor General of Works, received as the ordinary fee for his own office 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, with 6*d.* a day allowed for a Clerk; and extra allowance for riding about the country to the King's various castles and palaces, and also for boat hire on the Thames.

Spicery.	Spices.	Of my lord's store, suger for the waferie (8 lbs.) ..	0	6	0	6	0	10
		Of do., for jelly stuff, cloves, zinger, cinamon, suger, nutmegge, graynes,* turnsole,† &c.	0	16	8			
		Of do. for the confectionary, pistads and carraways ..	0	3	4			
		Of the King's provision for Ipocras,‡ for Saturday, Sonday, and Monday, ginger whole, &c.	4	9	10			
	Fruites	Of the King's provision for the confectionary, pears 600 ..	0	5	0			
Chaundry.	Wax..	Of the King's provision, 16 lbs of pure wax wrought in quarrers,§ priketts and sises. 8*s.*						
		Wax wrought in torches, 20lbs., 7*s.* 6*d.* . ..	0	15	6	1	0	6
	White lights	Of the King's provision, parishe candles,‖ 4 doz. ..	0	5	0			
Kechyn.	Linge..	Of the King's provision ..	2	10	0	18	18	9
	Accats¶	Of do., sea-fish, 5 potts, 50*s.*; 8 pikes, 12*s.*; 5 salmon 20*s.*; 8 grilz, 16*s.*; 7 tenches, 4*s.* 3*d.*; 9 lopsters, 6*s.* 8*d.*; breams, plaice, butter, eggs, 200, 3*s.*, &c.	7	10	7			
		Of mylord's store, congers, pike, eles, trouts, bremes, carps, tenches, roches, perches, mollets, eggs, &c. ..	6	18	2			
		David Hobs, for xi pasteys of salmon	0	10	3			
		John Armstronge, for one barrell of sturgeon, byhim bought	1	13	0			
	Saultes	John Colly, for mustard bought	0	1	3			
		Of my lord's store, vinegar, 10 gallons, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and verjuice, 4 gall., 16*d.* ..	0	4	8			

* "Grains of Paradise."—Small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies.

† "Turnsole."—A species of Heliotrope, of which "Gerard's Herbal," p. 334 (edit. 1636), gives this quaint account:—"With the smaller Tornesale they in France doe die linnen rags and clouts into a perfect purple colour, wherewith cooks and confectioners do colour jellies, wine, meats, and sundry confections: which clouts in shops be called Tornesales after the nature of the herbes. The name," says Gerard, "was given by reason of its flowering in the summer solstice, at which time the Sun being farthest gone from the Equinoctial Circle, returned to the same."

‡ "Hippocras,"—This was not a pure wine, but a compound of red or white wine with spices, as cinnamon and sugar, strained through a woollen bag. The name is either derived from the compound being called (as it was) "Vinum Hippocratis," the wine of that ancient physician; or from the woollen strainer, called by apothecaries Hippocrates's sleeve. Should any reader wish to know of a receipt for making this, there is one in "Nares's Glossary." It must have been a somewhat muddy beverage. John Aubrey, in his Life of Dr. Kettle, an eccentric President of Trinity College, Oxford, says "Mistress Howe of Grendon once sent the Doctor a present of Hippocras and some fine cheese-cakes, by a plain country fellow, her servant. The Doctor takes the wine, "What!" says he, "didst thou take this drink out of a ditch?"

§ "Quarrers," "quarries," or "quarrions," were *square* lumps of wax with a wick in the centre.

‖ This word is sometimes written "praise," "peris," or "parische." "Candells wax" and "candells peris," frequently occur in household accounts of much earlier date.

¶ "Accats:" meaning provisions, delicacies, purchased. From the the French *acheter*, to buy. The "Clerk of the Acatery" was an officer in the King's Household. The words are now altered to a "Caterer," and "Cates."

Woodyard and Squylarie.*	Of my lord's store..	Of my lord, x quarters coles, 10*s.*; x loads of wood, 10*s.*; 8 loads of rushes, 40*s.*† ..	3	0 0
		Messes‡ for thys Supper by estimacion ..	£37	15 8

The King and his Nobility appear to have supped apart from the Earl and his family, as there is a separate but equally precise entry of a similar fish-supper for "my Lord, my Lady, and their Household;" costing £8. Sixty at dinner, 70 at supper, and 130 dishes.

On the next day, Sunday, the 10th of August, the King's diet for the whole day amounted to £71 2*s.* 5*d.*, and the number of "messes," 470. The items for the bakehouse, buttery, and cellar are similar in kind, but larger in amount than on the day before. The cookery in the Kitchen included no longer fish only, but meats and game;—viz.:

Six beeves (oxen), valued at 30 shillings each, in all £9: and 24 muttons at 3*s.* each, in all £3 12*s.* 0*d.*

Of the King's provision, 12 veales (calves) cost 52*s.*; 5 cygnets, 33*s.* 4*d.*; 21 great capons, 42*s.*; 7 good capons, 9*s.* 4*d.*; 11 Kentish capons, 7*s.* 4*d.*; 3 dozen and 6 coarse capons, 13*s.*; 70 pullets, 13*s.* 9*d.*; 91 "chekyn," 7*s.*10*d.*; 38 quails, 12*s.*8*d.*; 9 mewes, 6*s.*; 6 egretts, 7*s.*; 2 shields of brawn; 7 swans, 46*s.* 8*d.*; 2 cranes, 12*s.*; 2 storks, 10*s.*; 3 pheasants, 7*s.* 6*d.*; 40 partridges, 26*s.* 8*d.*; 4 pea-chicks, 2*s.* 8*d.*; 21 snyts (snipe), 2*s.* 7*d.*; 2 doz. larks, 1*s.* 4*d.*; 6 brewes, 7*s.* 4*d.*; 28 gulls "rated for the feeding of them."

In my Lord's own bill of fare for this day (amounting to £15 10*s.* 6*d.*) are mentioned "Two pots of 'sampere' (samphire), 2*s.*; Two carcases of beef at £1 6*s.* 8*d.* each; and two of mutton at 4*s.* each; Messes for the day 146."

On Monday, 11th August, the King's provision cost £48 4*s.* 7*d.* Olives, prunes, "great raisins," as distinguished from currants, occur among the spicery. 3 dozen and 6 sparrows cost 2*s.* A kid, 2*s.* 48 steps of butter, 2*s.* Messes for the whole day, 440.

On Tuesday, 12th August, messes for the whole day 230 at the King's table. 100 at my Lord's.

The expenses of the whole week, including the King's visit, amounted to £288 19*s.* 10*d.*: a sum which of course represents a great deal more (about six times as much) of the money of our day. Of the comparative value some estimate may be formed by the fact that wheat was then 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, malt, 4*s.*, oats, 2*s.* 8*d.*, hops, 12*s.* the hundred, "with the carriage." The account is exceedingly minute; every article, even to "wick yarn, 14 lbs. at 2*s.* the lb.," "fine cotton wick 6 lbs. at 4*s.* 6*d.* the lb.," "rosin 14 lbs. at 6*d.* the lb.,"

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* "Squyllerie:" meaning *scullery*, from the French *escuelle*, a dish.

† "Rushes."—These were in lieu of carpets. In another part of the Account Book is: "Paid to Robert Smith, Rushman, for 40 dozen Rushes of him bought for the straweing of my Lord's House at Beauchamp Place, London, from 24 Novr. to the last of Aprill, 60*s.*"

‡ "Messes," strictly speaking, were allowances carefully doled out, like the "Commons" in a college hall. Here it seems to signify that dinner was provided on a rough calculation for 200. A mess is thought by some to have been generally an allowance for four persons: but that the King should have 800 persons to provide with regular meals on a short visit like this, seems incredible.

was carefully accounted for: and if not specially bought for the occasion, was taken out of store, and its value charged as expense.

The ordinary weekly expenditure on victuals, &c., under the different heads above given, at Tottenham Park or at Wulf hall, for my lord and lady, their visitors and servants, was about £22. The number dining and supping is daily recorded. The hour for the earlier meal, *then* called dinner, was at ten o'clock in the morning, the later meal, then called supper, about five or six in the afternoon.

Only two meals per diem appear in the account of the king's visit to Wulfhall.

Gratuities or "Rewards" bestowed by the Earl of Hertford upon the occasion of the King's visit.

"Among the King's household servants at my lord's commandment, at his grace's being at Wulf haull the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of August, with £4 to the clerk of the kitchen and master cook 30 13 4

To the King's sagbutts, the 12th of August, 20*s.* the violls 20*s.*, the flutes 15*s.*, the taberet 5*s.*, the trumpetts 15*s.*, the purveyor of the cellar 3 . 4*d.*, Mr. Blunt, gentleman usher and others, in all.. 7 18 4

To a coke and a turnebroche *(Turnspit)* that did labour in the kychin during the King's being at Wulfhaull 0 7 8

To Philip Cornish 10*s.*, John Bedell 11*s.* 3*d.*, Miles Range 5., John Miles 5*s.*, and John Cox 5*s.*, in reward to them for their paynes taken in paynting the roff of my lord's barn, with fretts upon canvas agenst the King's coming to Wulfhaull, 9th August .. 1 16 4

In reward to Master Hungerford's man for bringing my lord partridges, a capon, pigeons and brawn 0 3 4

To diverse men that brought my lord presents from diverse of his friends, as venison, wild fowl, &c., against the King's coming to his house, at Wulf haull, where my said lord defraid him for Saturday supper, Sunday and Monday all day, and Tuesday dinner the 12th August, with money given to diverse persons for carriage of letters to my Lord's said frends for the same 13 9 2

It would seem, from the next item, that his Majesty's officers, having supplied part of the provisions for the King's table, also paid the Earl for the hides, &c., of the animals taken out of Wolf haull farm yard.

"Received by the hands of Mr. Cofferer of the King's house, 25 Sept., for the hides, fells and tallow of the beifes and multones expended whiles the King was at Wulfhaull." 8 7 10

No. V.

Extracts from the Steward's Account Books of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, (Protector Somerset), illustrative of Domestic Life, Prices, &c., of that period. See p. 148.

1. Travelling Expenses, &c.

For hay, litter, and provender for 24 horses of my lord's own for 2 nights, 7 & 8 Oct., standing at Newbury, in my lord's journey from Wulf hall to London 0 20 0

For 20 horses of my lord's servants 2 nights	0	13	4
For men hired to dress my Lord's horses at Newbury .	0	0	4
To Master Winchcombe's * carders when my lord lay there 19 Sept.	0	17	6
For hay, litter, and provender for my lord's mule standing at the Goat in Strand 30 days	0	12	6
For making a seat of velvet fringed with gold ..	0	1	4
For 6 cop nailes gilt to set on the head of the sadle, 8*d.*, for a gilt head to the same sadle 16 8	0	17	4
For making a pillion cloth of velvet, with 3 yards of bokeram to line the same	0	3	6
4th September 1537 Paid for hey, litter, and provender for xx horses one night when my Lord lay at my lord Stourton's [now Stourhead]	0	8	4
Paid for the same for xxxviii horses of my lord's trayne 2 nights when my lord lay at my lord Chief Justices (Fitz James) house called Redlinch [near Bruton], viz. 5 and 6 Sept.	0	29	6
Paid for the same for xxxvi horses of my lord's trayne standing in dyvers places when my lord lay one night at my lord Hungerford's [Farley Castle) viz. 7 Sept.	0	14	8
For like horse mete for xxxix horses for one night when my lord lay at Sir Henry Long's (Draycote) 8 Sept.	0	15	6
For the same, standing one night in the Abbey of Malmesbury and in the Town there			
For xxxvii horses, one night when my lord lay at Bradstock 10 Sept.			
For xl. horses, One night at the Devizes when my lord lay at Mr. Ernely's [Whetham], 12 Sept.			
For xxxv. doz. horse-bread expended whiles my lord lay at Wulfhaulle, seven days as well before his progress as after. Aug. and Sept.	0	35	0
Thomes Wolf for sweping and clensing my lord's Chamber at Windsor, and setting up bords to stop out the wind ..	0	0	12
To Mother Neville for a fireshovel 8*d.*, a paire of bellouse, 4*d.* ..	0	0	12
Paid for 400 harness-bells bought at London at 12*d.* the hundred	0	4	0
Paid 19 April for shoeing my horses agenst the bringing uppe of my Lord's revenues, 1*s.* 4*d.* And for a male pylyon,† and two male brasses for the carrying of the said revenues	0	0	12
(1539 March) Reward to my Lord Cobham's cook that dressed my Lord's dinner at Gravesend	0	3	4
For the hire of 17 horses from Gravesend to Dover for my Lord and others of his Company on his Journey to Calais ..	0	35	4
For cords to my lord's mail and mending his posting cushion ..	0	1	4
Paid for a wagon to carry my lorde from Sandgate to Rinsham 12 March	0	1	4

* Winchcombe: the celebrated wealthy clothier called "Jack of Newbury,"

† A pillion to carry a *maille* or portmanteau.

For lodgings for my lord and his company attending him at Dover 2 nights	1	3	
To Bailif's widow at Calais for lodging of my lord, Mr. Howard and Roger Smith 3 weeks	1	4	0
To John Nele and other his fellows for my Lord's passage, and diverse other attending him, from Calais to Dover, in two passengers	5	6	10
To Mr. Semor's man for his and two carters and 4 horses expenses bringing a wagon from Wulfhall to Twickenham, to carry my Lord Beauchamp from thence to Elvetham [*one of the Earl's seats in Hants*] and returning to Wulfhall again	0	19	3

2. Sports and Amusements.

For feeding of 3 greyhounds for 31 days .. .	0	7	9
For feeding of 4 couple of spanyels being a-brode hawking, 6 days	0	1	10
Do. a cast of leonards [*lanner-hawks*]	0	1	6
Paid to a fox taker 23 Feb. for taking of foxes in Tottenham Park and in the Forest	0	2	0
Paid to Morse and Grammatts for helpyng to take the wylde swyne in the Forest 4*d.*; and for 8 hempen halters to bynd their legs 4*d.*; and for drink for them that helped to take them 4*d.*			
To Edmund Coke and Wm. Morse and others for sekyng wild swyne in the Forest 2 days*	0	2	6
To Thomas Christopher for his costes when he caryed the two wilde bores to the Court to my Lord att Wynsor Allhallowen even ..	0	3	4
Paid for my costs when I rode to Trowbridge to my Lord with the spanyells that I toke from the Byshope of Salysbury's partrydge taker	0	3	5
Paid to Thomas Pottenger, my lord's falconer for watching the hawks in Collingbourne woods this year for 13 weeks, 6*d.* the day and night (1544)	0	46	0
To a partridge-taker which brought partridges to store my Lord's Grace's ground, 30 Jan^{y}	0	0	4
To Mr. Sidenham's man for the same	0	2	0
Edward King for feeding of partridges that came from Jersey and were sent to Wulfhall	0	1	4
Pd. to a Fesaunt-taker which toke fesaunts in Bently woodds by my Lord's commaundment the 13 April last . ..	0	3	4
In reward to a keeper of Windsor Forest that brought my lord word of a red deer lodged at Elvetham . ..	0	6	0
To Edward Woulphe Capitayne of my lord's pinnace the Phœnix, towards rigging and victualling the same	69	9	8
Delivered to Mr. Sapcotes at Salisbury the 8th May, to take unto my lord, which he did lose att pennypryke† . ..	0	25	0

*At this item, there is a note in the margin :—"Every keeper and woodward hereafter to seke in his walk, and no such allowance to be had."

†"Penny-prick," says Strutt (English Pastimes) "appears to have been a common game in the fifteenth century, and is reproved by a religious writer of that period." Strutt does not describe it.

Item, that my Lord did lose at shooting unto the Bishop of Rochester, 22 July at Guilford	0	1	4
Recd. at Hartford Place of my lord the 13th Oct. which he dyd wyn at cards same night he dyd sup at Lambeth with my lord of Canterbury	0	35	0

3. "Rewards," *i.e.* Gratuities.

To a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury for bringing 2 pasties of red deer	0	3	4
To a servant of the Master of the Horse for bringing a doe. .	0	5	0
To the King's master cook for his paynes in teaching Jeffrey Oliver	0	40	0
To a servant of Sir John Dudley's that brought my Lady a picture of Queen Jane	0	0	8
To one that brought my lady puddings	0	2	0
To the Sexton of St. Stephen's at Westminster for a standing for my lady when the Marquis of Exeter was reyned [*arraigned*] 3 Dec.	0	3	4
To the minstrels of my lord of Rutland ..	0	3	4
To Mris Denyer, midwife, and nurse, when my lady christened him a child	0	20	0
To Palmer for bringing my lord certain letters from Wolfhall ..	0	0	8

4. New Year's Gifts.

To Master Jennings of the King's Privy chamber for bringing my lord the King's New year's gift the 1st January ..	0	45	0
Gifts to the Officers of the King's Household; including the Children of the Kitchen and Scullery, 10*s.*: the Sagbutt 15*s.*, the Players 7*s.* 6*d.*, the Jugler, 3*s.* 4*d.*, &c.	13	13	4
Alsop the Poticarie 5*s.*, Mr Lord Prince's Players 7*s.* 6*d.*, my Lord of Suffolk's Minstrels 5*s.*, my Lord of Derby's Players 6*s.* 4*d.*, my Lord's own minstrels 33*s.* 4*d.*; my Lord Chancellor's minstrells 6*s.* 8*d.* my Lord's own players 13*s.* 4*d.* And many others ..	33	17	6
To the queristers of Poules [*choristers of St. Paul's*] for playing before my lord	0	5	0
To My Lady Mary [*afterwards* Q. Mary] in Riolles [*Royals*] for her New Year's Gift	5	12	6
To my Lady Mary's servant for bringing my Lord a New Year's gift	0	20	0
To the King's Walshe minstrel [*Welsh Harper*]	0	5	0
To my Lord's Confessor	0	3	4

5. The Earl's Child, Edward.

To the keeper of Ludgate and Algate for letting John Smith in and out in the night when he went for Mris Midwife ..	0	0	8
June. To Edward Lloyd for hanging the chapel at Beauchamp Place for the christening of Mr. Edward Semor my lord's second son	0	20	0

For 3 ells of Holland clothe to dress the Font withall the day of the Christening of Mr. Edw. Seymour . ..	0	4	6
In reward to Mris Berwick, my lady being her gossip* 31 August	0	22	6
Do. to Mris Hungerford, my lady being her gossip, 13th Sept. ..	0	22	6
Pd. to Robert Topping for making of a cote for Mr. Edward Seymour when he was delivered to the Pryor of Sympryngham 12*d.*: for making of his hose 12*d.*; and his doubletts 8*d.* ..	0	2	8
For 7 yards and a half of fryse for a cote clothe for Mr. George Seymour agenst Crysmas at 8*d.* the yard, 5*s.*; and for a yerde of coten to lyne the upper bodyes of the same cote 6*d.*; and for the making of the same 12*d.* And for 2 yards of black fustyan for a doblett for hym att 9*d.* the yerde 2*s.* 3*d.*; and for 2 yerdes of coten to lyne the same doublett 12*d.*; and for canvas 2*d.* and for making of the same doblett 8*d.*	0	10	7

6. Salaries, Fines, Payments to Crown, &c.

28 Oct. 30 H. VIII.

To Wm. Awlrey of Canford, Co Dorset, from the Earl of Hertford, a whole year's fee for exercising the offyce of the High Bailiwick of Trowbridge	3	0	10
To Henry Waldurne, Clerk of New Sarum, Chantry Priest of Godmerston's Chantry, due unto him on St. Luke the Evangelist's day, for the annuity or yearly rent granted out of the late Monastery of Easton to the foresaid Chantry	0	13	4
Paid to me [*i.e.*, *The Steward*, A.D. 1536] my Fee for the Rangership of the Forest of Savernak in redy money; paid always by the Warden	0	26	8
To the Abbot of Malmesbury's servant for bringing my Lord his Fee of the said House	0	6	8
To Lewis Brecknock, late Prior of [*Monkton*] Farley ..	0	15	0
To the Bailiff of Bradford, for certeyn money called Paulsomeve, by the yere†	0	3	4
For the indenture and release of Crofton Fitzwarren purchased of the Earl of Bath ‡	0	10	0
To the Hundred of Kynwardestone for my Lord's Fine, and for nonsuing to the Courte of the said Hundred for the manor of Wulfhall; payable once a year	0	0	12

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* *i.e.*, Godmother to a child. The word is derived from "God," and "sib," (*akin*). The belief was, that by contracting spiritual obligations to a child they became "sib," or "akin in God," to one another. (See Trench's English, p. 153.) The word occurs in Chaucer:—"Natheles, your kindrede is but a fer (*distant*) kindrede; they be but litle *sibbe* to you, and the kin of youre enemies be nigh *sibbe* to them. (Tale of Melibæus.)

† "Paulsomeve." This name, so spelt in the original, is a corruption of "Palmson-Eve," and means a payment of certain money annually on Palm Sunday Eve, not (as might have been expected from the name) to the Ecclesiastical but to the Civil authorities at Bradford. The origin of this payment is unknown. See Rev. W, H. Jones's History of Bradford-on-Avon. Wilts Arch, Mag., v., 69.

‡ John Boucher, Lord Fitzwarine, created Earl of Bath, A.D. 1536.

Lykewyse to the Hundred for a Fine of a ground called Fitzwarren's	0	1	4
Lykewise for certen moneys due to the Queen's grace for the House of Eston [*i.e., Easton Priory, near Pewsey*]	0	3	3
Paid [1537] to William Franklin, Deane of the King's College of Windesor for the amending of highways, and other deeds of Charity as shall stand with the King's Majesty's pleasure to appoint, for the soul's health of the late Erles of Combreland, Southampton and Sussex departed, Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter..	7	10	0
The same for the late King of Scots	0	50	0

7. Miscellaneous Payments.

Paid to my lord of Canterbury, for a gown of Saten for my Lady with powdered armyns [*ermine*] 106*s.* 8*d.*, and for a foot-cloth and harnes of velvet for a mule 4 0 0: in all to him 8 July ..	9	6	8
Paid at the month's mind of my Lady Dame Elizabeth Seymour*	0	55	4
Oct. 1. In reward to Robert of Moulsey for bringing my Lord word of the Birth of Prince Edward. [*His sister Jane Seymour's son, afterwards King Edward VI.*]	0	20	0
To two Sargents of Sarum; in reward which brought two fat oxen to my Lord's Grace presented by the Mayor and his Brethren ..	0	13	4
To doctor Bennet's man which kept and brought up the Red Deer which the said Dr. Bennet gave my Lord's Grace	0	8	0
And for bringing them to Wulf hall	0	0	12
To Maklyn and Pollard of Burbage for being at Wulfhall at Christmas with their instruments	0	3	4
In reward to Hance† that made Quene Jane's pycture 10 Sept. ..	0	10	0
Do. to Mr. Olive ‡ the Kyng's Surgeon 11 Septr. ..	0	15	0
Do. to Crystofer Samone 10 Oct. for drawing out my lady's teeth	0	15	0
To Mr. Awdley by the hands of Edw. Woulf 30 Dec. for a sherte which my lady gave the King to his New Year's Gift ..	100*s.*	4*d.*	
Pd. to Wm. Hunt the 4th June with letters to London to my Lord concerning the Rising and uproar at Potterne in Wiltshire the space of 3 days [1542]	0	4	0
For a box of *Manus Christi* § for my Lady	0	2	8

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* "Month's Mind." One of those memorial days variously called "Mind Days," "Obits," or "Year's Mind," on which a service in church or chantry-chapel was performed for the soul of some deceased founder or benefactor. Bequests of money were left for this purpose. The "Lady Elizabeth Seymour" here mentioned was the grandmother of Protector Somerset.

† "Hance:" meaning probably Hans Holbein.

‡ Probably Mr. Ayliffe, King Henry the Eight's surgeon. (See "Wiltshire Collections," p. 209.)

§ "Manus Christi." A kind of lozenge, composed of white sugar, rose-water, and powder of pearls, cast into little cakes and gilded: on white paper anointed with oil of sweet almonds. The virtues of this innocent preparation were supposed to be considerable. For example, in Turner's Herbal, an old quaint work of 1568,—"A Receipe for the 'Fever quotidian, or dayly Fever:' Take the best aqua vite that ye can get, half a pound: put therein the whitest Mary of Walwurt that ye can get, two unces: let it stepe therein 3 dayes, and give the patient thereof to drink. But marke well. If it would chafe him too much, then temper him the drinke wyth a litle other wyne or drinke, and give him sometime *Manus Christi*."

To John Soda for sundry medicines and conserves by him made for my lord and lady and 3 children	0	31	10
Anthony de Jerombassam for 4 Howboys of him bought ..	100*s.*	0*d*	
For a case of lether for my lord's poleax	0	2	4
For 9 skins and 2 doz. packthread to begin a fishing net for my lord	0	10	0
To Thomas Alsop for losinges [*lozenges*], treacle and other *poticary stuff* for my lord	0	20	2

8. Receipts.

Of Mr. William Button of Alton 19 April for my Lord's aker of wood in the Forest of Savernak, of the Queen's Grace's Copse ..	0	43	4
Received of the Prior of St. Margarett's by Marlborough for my Lord's fee for being highe stuarde to the Howse, for one hole yere	0	13	4
Received for the tithing hay* of the portions belonging to Bedwyn that my lord hath, as hereafter, viz. :			
First, for the portion of West Grafton .. 0 13 4			
,, Do. of East Grafton . 0 10 0			
,, Do. of West-combe .. 0 13 4			
,, Do. of Crofton .. 0 3 8			
,, Do. for Martin .. 0 2 0			
	0	42	4
Recd. my lord's fee for the Constableship of the Castle of Brystowe	14	3	4
Recd. for the release of a steer taken in the Forest as a strayer..	0	0	12
Receved of Gorway of Bedwyn for one porker that was messeled [*measled*] not holsome to be etten in the house	0	2	8
Receyved of a olde outside of a gowne of frysadew of the goodes of my olde mistriss	0	2	0
Received for iij olde horses comprised in the inventorie of my olde maister Sir John Seymour the one called Huddleston, another Vycary, and the balde baye Thiller	0	13	0
Received in redy money at the calling unto God's mercy of the late worshipfull Lady, dame Elizabeth Seymour decessed ..	0	32	8
Recd. of the right worshipfull Lady Margery Seymor for one quarter's borde for her Ladyshipp and her famyly att £20 the year. [*The Protector's Mother.*]	5	0	0

*This relates to the tithe of Great Bedwyn parish held by the Protector by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Sarum. Among other memoranda relating to this subject (which seems to have been one very fertile of disputes) there is one, that the Dean and Chapter of Sarum used to claim the tithes of all the King's forests in Wilts under (as they alleged) a grant from King Henry the Second.

The manor of Grafton was bought by the Earl of Hertford of Thomas Barnardiston in 28 Henry VIII., for £441 3*s.* 10*d.*

In 37 Henry VIII., (1545) he bought from Sir Edward Darrell all his lease interest in Wexcombe, Bedwyn, and Burbidge ; and obtained the reversion from the crown. Some quarel afterwards fell out about this ; and as a marginal note on an old paper relative to it speaks of Sir Edward Dorrell as a common cozener ; and of his having been "brought before the Star-Chamber for abusing Hyde."

Out of Wexcombe Manor £35 annual rent was at that time paid to the Sheriff of Wilts for the crown.

No. VI.

King Henry VIII. at Wulfhall in A.D. 1543. See p. 149.

From the following Bill K. Hen. 8 appears to have been at Wulfhall or in the neighbourhood in this year.

"The charges of the Kyng's servants at Burbage the xxth of June Anno xxxvth."

	s.	d.
Item for the fyrst nyght at sopper and yn the mornyng for drynk	v.	iiii.
Item for Dynner the nexte daye	ii.	viii.
Item for brekefast in the last daye in the morning ..	,,	ix.

No. VII.

Easton Priory, near Pewsey: sometimes called Easton Royal. See p. 150.

The Protector (when Lord Beauchamp) lived occasionally at Easton Priory near Pewsey, property obtained at the dissolution of monasteries. There were 3 parcels: Easton Drewes, Easton Priors, and Easton Bradenstoke (having belonged to that Priory). Wick Manor, and part of Milton belonged to the House at Easton.

The account books mention Lord Beauchamp's being here, when Lord Great Chamberlain, for 9 days ending the 14th Oct. 35 H. VIII. (1543); the expenses amounting to about £30. Wheat was then 10*s*. 8*d*. the quarter. Malt at 4*s*. 8*d*. Among the "Spices" bought are reckoned "Biskets" and "Carraways," Turnesoll, Saunders,* Dates and Capers. A Beef of my Lord's own store was valued at 26*s*. 8*d*. "Fresh accats" were bought by Robert Dangell, "cater." Rushes for my Lord's chamber and others, 7*s*. 8*d*.

No. VIII.

Letters from Mr. Berwick, Mr. Bryan Tesh, and Mr. Arthur Roods (Agents and Bailiffs) to Sir John Thynne: concerning the enclosure of a Park and sundry preparations for Building a New Mansion for the Protector Somerset at Bedwyn Brail End. A.D. 1548, 1549. See p. 150.

Mr. John Berwick,† to Sir John Thynne.

1548. 25th Nov. After my most heartie commendacions, Theis shall be t' aunser your letters sent as well by Bryan as by Mr. Hartgill. First concerning

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*Saunders, the dried juice of the Red Sandal or Dragon's Blood tree, brought from the East Indies and used for colouring confections red, as saffron was for yellow.

†John Berwick, or Barwick, of Wilcot, near Pewsey, whose daughter and heir married Thomas Wroughton, son of Sir William Wroughton, of Broad Hinton, from whose family Wilcot has descended, to the present owner, Admiral Montagu. Mr. Berwick was an agent to Protector Somerset. There is a short pedigree of his family in the Wilts Visitations of 1565 and 1623.

the Demesnes about my Lord's grace's house at the Broyle End. We have enlarged the whole growude as ye shall perceive. Fyrst, the meadow on the other side of the ponde towards Grafton is enlarged so high as the furlong goeth leaving space for a way which the Tenants of Wilton* shall have from theire village to theire common where we apoynted the other pond to be made betwene both the fields in the bottom: so that the meadow shall rise as high as the hedge where I would had it gone at the first, saving the way aforsaid: so that nowe my Lord's Grace shall stand at the place where his house shal be and have the whole medowe in his eye, where before he should scarcely have seen it, but have looked over it. I doute not his Grace shall like it well in that point.

Furder, we have taken in the Felde, Ryver, and medowe ground from Bushell's mylne unto the very back of the mylne at Bedwyne, which I have in lease of the Close of Sarum, and so from thens compassing over the field towards Bushell's close where our fyrst stakes were set, and so taking in that close and so straight through the wood and copice to the corner of the wood, beneath the great pit which was dygged within the wood at th' upper corner of the Broyle, beyond the springs, and so forth in the falling of the hill on the farther syde towards Ramphreis house as ye and we appointed. Saving we have taken in a gretter compas at the corner where the chief spring is, I meane where the conduit-house shall stand; and from thence straight over that felde to the close corner at Wilton's-town's end viz. to the nether end of the lane which descendeth from the broke and from thence to the pond head next to Wilton where the pale standeth, and so on the other side up the close to the upper ende of the medowe where we beganne, which is in compass 3 miles saving 110 lug.

And there is of woode ground within the compass 109 acres, 8 lug; and of medowe and other ground 476 acres, 3 yerds and 27 lug: as shall appeare by a mesure thereof sent by Bryan and mesured by Dowlte, John Androes and others, the best mesurers in these parts; but for lack of tyme they could not nombre or devide the medowe grounde, for that will aske leisure, for there will ryse a great nombre of acres of medowe more upon the water between Bushell's mill and the mylne at Bedwyn town's end. Things cannot be perfectly certified upon such post haste. It is now bounden and compassid in myne opynyon very well; trusting that my Lord's Grace shall lyke the same. And whereas I perceive by Bryan that my Lord's Grace would have had the whole Broyle taken in, and so have compassed by the bottom next Ramphries house, that could not have been, for then the Tenants of Wilton should have no maner of common for their Rudder beasts† in that side which would have been to their utter undoing. They kept before this tyme in their commen as they say 180 Rudder beasts with the help of the Broyle for which they paid to the Quene and to the farmer of Harden a very small rent; as I remember it is under a Noble: and if the whole wood and bottom aforesaid should be taken from them then they

* Wilton. This is a hamlet near Burbage. It is called in the Inquis, p.m. *Wolton*. The wood of "Wolton" is mentioned in the Perambulation of Savernake, A.D. 1300 (Wilts Arch. Mag., iv., 204). [Query, is not this the correct name, and a corruption of Wulph-town? See Hutchins's Dorset, i., 453.]

† Rudder beasts; a corruption from the Anglo-Saxon "hrythe" or "hruther," horned cattle. Rother beasts," in Jacob's Law Dictionary.

would keep none. I brake with the tenants afar off therein, but I perceive that should be much grief to them. And as it is an old saying, Inough is as good as a feste, I pray God we may find owte lands, medowe and something, to satisfy them for that which they shall now forego.

I sent to Barnardiston by his own servant and bailiff here three weeks past, that he should attend my Lordes Grace, and he is not as yet returned ageyn. I have also sent another of his servants so that I trust you shall heare of him shortlie. My Lord's Grace must go through with him forthwith, so that the Tenants whose landes we have taken in may sow their barley crop there now or at our Lady day next, for otherwise they must be drevyn to sowe their *awne* (?) within the inclosure. Bushell's mylne and his whole grounds must be within the compas so that we must studdie where to settle him. We have begunne a ditch on the further side of the medow towards Grafton as Bryan can declare you further therein. Ye must remember to send downe Hyde for his further advise howe the laborers shall dygg for the spring. Ye must also send downe bryckmakers so that the cleye may be dyggyde in season. I have wrytten to Mr. Lyne to certefye my lord's grace of the mettall mencioned in your letter. Concerning the furzes of which my Lord's grace sent me a sample to be set in the new hare warren, there is none to be gotten in these parts of that kynde or sorte as I can learn yet, but wee will sett the best we can finde. The wild bore, and the Red dere shal be sent next week.—From Hampton the 23 Novr.

2.—Mr. Bryan Tesh (of Wilton, near Burbage) to Sir John Thynne.

1549. 30 March. Has received orders to set forward my Lord's Grace's works. He must of necessity have water before he can lay any foundations; so in the mean season while the plumber is getting ready for the same, he will clear the springs which are filled up with earth. And for that it hath bene declared unto my Lord's Grace that neyther Chalke nor Wilton stone will abyde the weather, ther is in the proof of them here good tokens of them bothe or at the least no cause of despayre in eyther of them. For of the chalke there is iij stones whose nether bed is made the parelment,* so that these stones shovers out into brode spalters and thin, but the other that is set with the right bed downwards, or that standyth joint by joint, as they call it, dothe remayne sound enough. And in the stone of Wilton consydering it was set green and unseasoned and being of the up moste of the quarr which is worste, it spalters out in thick peces and will not abyde; but now they be cum to great stones in the quar that will make ashelour xvi or xvij inches high, and have brought him to a fair bed more workmanlyke then it was before, so that I trust within this fortnight or iij weekes we shall cum to good stone, for it fashioneth in every condition lyke unto the quarr at Mr. Kyngsmille's. The brickmakers have cast as much earth as will make xx hundred thousand bryks by estimation, but they tell me they will moulde none these iij wekes, so that we shall have none burned these vi wekes at least, but I will cause them if I can to begin this next week if the weather will hold up dry, and in the mean season before that he hath don all thes necessaries I will trace and set forth my lords grace's house according to the plat which my lord's grace resolved upon the last time, and so be ready to lay the foundation, and the labourers also which are about the dyke will be

* The facing-stones in a course of masonry.

ready for that purpose about that time: and will go to London with a plat of all the levels of the courts and gardens. The pond, thankes be to God, will metely hold water, but it will do better by that time it hath settled a year. The dich about the bounds is in a grete forwardness and will be finished within these ten days, saving that piece between Croughton and Fitzwarrens which God send a prosperous success and all the rest of my lord's Grace's affayres with everlasting helthe unto your mastership and all your's.

From Wilton."

3.—The Same to the Same.

1549. May 31. Fyrst, touching the conducte howse, Mr. Hynd can declare the state thereof in more ample wise at his coming, but yet, as he can declare also, we have made redy the pavours and all things necessary for the conduct head, so that at his returne we shall have brycks and lead redy for hym to begin the head and the vaute, and after that I doubte not to have water running in the base court, or at least within 3 foot where is best to make the morter heapes, because the water runnith there and the lyme below not far off.

As touching the number of men, whereas it was reakined that we had 400, we never had above 14 score (280), which being disposed abroad in many workes seem but few in sight, and yet the number nevertheless. We never had above 4 score and ten men at the top of the hill, and so I most humbly desyer you to declare unto my Lord's grace, for I feare he thinketh the greatest nnmber is here, and so peradventure look for much more work than is don. At the conduct have been 3 score men all this year. 40 men at the quarr at Wilton: 24 men hedging the bowndes. 18 at Tudworth, besides the Frenchmen, which have drawn above 300 ton of chalk and lyeth ready for carriage. 20 carts for hauling row, sand and water for the brickmakers. At the quarrs at Shalborne, Topnam Hill, and Westcombe 12 men trying for stone. Fears stone will be lacking for the Foundacions, for the vi foot walls will drinke up muche of the stone, and the *vault of the conduit being made well nigh a thousand feet long*, will take much stuff.

As touching the metall at Martens-hall hill; whereas I told my Lords Grace that the banks of Foscue his pitt fell downe when he came to the *bur* of his metall, he is now cum to it againe and hathe fownd a stone wherein is metall as he saith, and hath as much tyme for the profe of the same as he demanded at the first. But as for Mr. Hance asketh leysur to Midsomer, having 8 of our Devonshire men to his pit, and I think it he meaneth Midsomer come 12 months for before that he will never fynd none where he searchith: and for Mr. Foscew's stone I can find him a 1000 load of it within 6 foot of the ground where he diggeth six fathom, but I cannot cause him to come to see the places where, whatsoever the matter be.

I have sent a wallet of stone to London, whereon I have written upon every stone where he grew.

Men were also employed in the Isle of Purbeck, digging. [See Letter 5.)

4.—Mr. John Barwick to Sir John Thynne.

1549. June 4. Sends a Note of all my Lord's Grace's Manors, Castells, forrests, chaces, parks and mills within his office of Receipt in the counties of Wiltes, Hampshire, Berks, and Gloucester.

"Further theys shal be to advertyse you that I have discharged Foscowe and Hance the myners, and they have had for their charges and bordying, syns they came owte of London in Lent past vi£ with the xl*s.* that I delyvered to them there at theyr comyng owt. Foscowe sayeth that he hath found a riche plott of grounde as eny is in Englonde. I wolde fayne have knowen sumthing of his secresy, but he answeryd me so reasonably that I colde go no further with him. Which was that it was not mete for eny man to know it, unto suche tyme he had fyrst declarid the same hymselfe to my Lord's grace. He shewyd me a grey stone suche as be yn the felds and strete of Eston, wherein there's metall (as he saith). I have sent you a pece thereof by this berer, lest he shuld shewe my lord's grace a contrary thing. And as to Hance I think there be not a more dissembler yn England, for he worketh too fondly as Mr. Comptroller can declare.

Further ye sent us downe such a lewde company of Frenchmen masons as I never saw the lyke. I assure you they be the worst condicyoned people that ever I saw and the dronkenst; for they will drynke more in one day than three days wages wyll come to, and then lye lyke beasts on the floor not able to stonde. I have geven them dyvers warnyngs me selfe and yet never the better. And now I perceive by Bryan they be departid and stolen away lyke themselfs, and be yndeptyd *(indebted)* to dyvers folkes yn theis parts; wherefore it were well don to punyshe them if they may be found; I thynke they will make their repayr to London.

Further, according my lord's grace's pleasure, I have byn at Vasterne Park* and there with moche worke I have put owt by estymacion 500 dere of all sorts into Braydon. It was not possible to devyde the bucks from the *rascalls*† but one with the other. Whereof the most part were rascalls. And although we colde not get owte so maynye dere as we wolde, yet there wil be pasture ynough for my Lord's grace's provysion, for the grounde was never so well beforehande yn grasse thys tyme of the yere as yt is nowe. And thus desyryng you to remember my sutes wherein I requyred Walron to move you I wysh you no less helth with th'yncrease of wurshipp that your gentle harte desyrethe. Praying you that I may be most hartely commendyd unto my good lady your bedfellowe. From Estone the iiijth of June. 1549.

Your most assuredly to command,

JOHN BERWICKE."

To the right worshipfull Sir John Thynne, Knyght.

5.—MR. ARTHUR ROODS TO SIR JOHN THYNNE. ABOUT PURBECK STONE.‡

1549 6 June. Thys shal be to advertyse y^r^. Mastershyppe after whatt sort the stone lyeth att Purbecke, and whatt order I have taken there. Fyrste in the south partt of the Iland, at a poyntt calyd Sayntt Aldomis from the wyche pointt ij myles towards the west end of the Ile lyeth the towyche (*touch*) stone

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*Fasterne Park, near Wootton Bassett: appears in the list of estates granted to the Protector.

†See Note, p. 156.

‡This letter may be interesting to geologists: as some of the old Purbeck stone quarries, out of which much stone used formerly to be obtained for church columns and monuments, are now filled up and scarcely known.

yn ij shelffs endlonge towards the see very neer levell by estymacyon iij or iiij foote in length devyded with dyvers joyntts, some one stone iiij loods and many of them ij and iij loods apece and but one cowrse of stones yn every shelffe: the bredth vii or viii fote, the thyknes betweene xij ynches and xv ynches, the nerest end off the shelff towards the land ys at the lo-water mark att refe tyed, so hytt cannot be broken butt att sprynge tyed.

The alabaster ys a myle and a halfe from the towyche, att th'est end of the Ile att a place calyd Worbarrowe, falen owtt of the wydest clyffe wyche ys 30 fadom hye, and lyeth att full see marke in rownde pecys of viii or ix towne a pece: the utter partts of them being of whyte alabaster and full of craks: wyche woll not ryse in breadth passing xij ynches square wyth a small thyknes; and inwards towards the myds of the pece ys ij other cowlors of stone, one somewhatt blaker then the other, much lyke unto a grey Marbull of the wyche I wyll brynge a sample unto my Lord's grace withyn thys vij dayes; wyche stone wyll ryse to iij fote in length and xviij ynchys in breydth and vi or viij ynches thyke, so thet I have sett 2 workmen upon brekyng of the same att soche tyme as they canott worke for the water upon the towyche that I heve also appointed them to breke.—From Wolf halle vi June.

Your humble sarvytour

ARTHUR ROODS.

To the right worshipful
Syr John Thynne Knyght
att Brainford. *(Brentford.)*

6.—BRYAN TESHE TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

1549, June 7. My Lord's Grace's affayres proceed in as much haste as can be with so few men. 'As touching the quarr at Shalborn, whereas it showed very fair on the top we have serched the same and find it very little, though the stuff be good the quantity is small, for which cause I am very sorry. At Topnam Hill the pitt is full of water again, the wet wether hath been so much and the bankes be faln again of the diche upon Wylton Common whear the cley is about a vi or vij lugges, and our men is uppon the same to amend it again whiles the quick frithe is green. At Tudworth is about a 400 ton of chalke redy drawn. . . . . The stone of Wylton quar doth mak very good lyme and entend to make another Lymekylne for that stone; and whereas there is a great heap of dust made by means of the Rubbell which came out of the quar, the same will serve very well to mengle with the lyme in the fylling of the walls: for it is of itself very tough when it is beaten and tempered and much more it wyl be tough when the lyme dothe helpe him to bynd. Thus doth the best of the stone make good ashelour, and the ragged will serve for the foundacions and fylling stuff, and the Rubbell for lyme and the dust for rugh work, so that what so ever cost my Lorde's grace bestoweth there, it will quit the cost. The brickmaker hath set fyer upon his kylne already and by that tyme Mr. Hine cum he shall have brick enough for his conduit.

I moste humbly desyer your mastership to send me by your letter worde what tyme you think my Lorde's Grace wyll cum for there is nither lime, sand nor stone carried, nor scant any place redy for it. I wold make the more haste of

that, as alredy I can make no more with these men I have, about the carriage and re-carriage of earth. Furthermore I would fayne know my lorde's grace's pleasure for the well in the base court, whether it is to be round or square, and how much *bur*. Thus desiring your Mastership to pardon the rudeness of my letter because I write in haste, for if I be absent the tyme of the writing of this letter ther wyl be almost nothing done among the workmen, but yet I weed the loyterers out now so fast that the resydue be in fear of the same punishment. From my lord's grace's works on the hill 7th June.

7.—The Same to the Same.

1549. June 14. I have made inquisition for the mossy stone from whence it came and so far as I can learn it came from Shalborne Hill: yet some doth say it was fetched from Easton, but from Shalborne is the more likelihood, for that quar hath been serched to the bottom and so hath none of the resydew nor none in all the contreye and there is much stone hereabout which abydeth very well and semeth to come from thence, as the place where I had the same which I sent is builded with same stone, and as much thereof as lyeth 3 foot above the ground is mossy after that sort, and better, besydes that it is an end of a wall whose coynestones is of the same which is a good proof.

As touching the hard stone of Shalborne I have already written thereof: the quantity thereof is not so great as I wold it had been, and Arthur Rodes hath I understand declared before this the whole state thereof. It doth appear above to be very good stuff and to be store thereof, but it provith not so benethe, yet nevertheless I think there will be gathern enough for the ashlour under the grastable* for there is much of the same occupied in dyvers places hearabout, and though my Lord's Grace myndeth to make his utter *(outer)* walls thereof, I think it were better of flint; for I am sure there will aryse above 500 load of flints out of the dykes and other places which come free-cost, and the charges for dygging of the other stone and the carriage, skapling and others, wyll be very great, and the flint cost very little.

As touching th'old stone (whearof your mastershippe hath written that I have written Borne Hill, I dyd but wryte Shalborn Hill), which is urne *(ours)* but therewith the carriage; the same is well seasoned and wyll abyde all wethers, and I can perceyve none of that quarr that ever fayled which came out of the bottom thereof, where lyeth the best stone in every quar of this stone. In Burbage Church, though the grete *(grit)* be sumwhat rougher than Wylton stone, yet as the nature of all these quarrs heare is, the lower the rougher grete, so is it lyk that the same stone which is in Burbage Church wall (where is abundance) to come out of the bottom of Shalbourn quarr, or els of Eston, but whence so ever it came it abydeth very well and gathered a great moss and is I am sure of one of these quarrs.

The stone of Topnam ryseth yet as it was wont to do which is because the bottom of the pitt is so narrow that they wrest the stone in pieces and how it will prove when they work deep, I think as my Lord's grace thinketh therein: but if God send fayr wether, as hitherto we have none but always extremity of

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* *i.e.*, grass-table, or earth-table: the lowest course of stone that is seen in a building, level with the earth. (Halliwell's Archaic. Dict.)

rain I will see th'uttermost of that quar. The Frenchmen are well nigh xxxs. in debt for beer, victuals and other borrowed money and are ix in number of them, and have receyved all their wages withen 4 or 5 days, after 8 pence the workmen and 6 pence the labourers.

To the Rt. Worshipful Sir John Thyn at Syon or elsewhere.

8.—The Same to the Same.

1549. June 17. Mr. Hind appointed a diche to be cast at the place where the water of the trenche did avoide and to run up the hill to serche uppon the very top. We have don so: and have found a goodly spring hable to fill a pipe of an inch over within a hundreth foot long and 6 foot deep, and we be like to have more. And I doubt not but and if the same and all th'other that cometh out of the trench wer congregat together, it woll mayntayne a pype of 2 inches over with as much water as is avoyd and by estimation it is a foot above the other.

The springs in the pitt at the trenches end is clensed but little or nothing will come from thence. It is drye and no spring is there more than that soketh through the ground on every side and wyll not fill xx gallons in 2 days at most.

The extremity of the weather is so much, and the slewth (*sluggishness*) of the people together, so that much work can not be done at so few men's hands; but when soever my lord's grace cometh he shall perceive we have not been idle, the hindrances being considered.

I beseech ye to write unto Mr. Barwick that he kepe apoyntment with our men for the payments, or else shure our men will not aply ther works so well as els: for the poor men here do much complayn although they be prolonged but from Satterday to Monday next following, yet sumwhat it hyndereth and the poor men can not forbeare, because they must take the advantage of the market, or els they can not live with their wages; for when an ox selleth for xx nobles ther will be but smal penyworths arise, and when it is bought out of the market then it is worse. This do the poor men alledge unto me with such an exclamacion that I can do no lesse then write the same unto your mastership desyring that by your letters Mr. Barwyk may give his man a greater charge whose negligence is the cause of this rumour, and as I am shure unawares to Mr. Barwyk himselfe, and further than reason willeth me I will not yeld unto their complaints if extremity will serve, which yet always is not best to be showed, as knoweth the living God who preserve your Mastership for ever and ever.

9.—The Same to the Same.

1549. 18 June. Has had no answer about the well and many other things, and is afraid to do them for fear of offending my Lord's Grace. Prays to have knowledge of my Lord's Grace's coming that he may make all things somewhat the more handsome.

10.—The Same to the Same.

1549. 25 June. It may please your mastership to understand that my Lord's Grace's works here do proceed to effect with such expedition as it pleaseth God to permitt them: and whereas the court next the gate be appoynted to be

raysed on the lower syde and abayted on the upper syde the same wil be this night or to morrow by noon at a point and ready finished, and the houses about my Lord's Grace's lodgings, as according to appointment, digged round to the depth of 3 foot, so that the inner court being raysed 4 foot ther remayneth 2 foot for the lights into the court to serve the 9 foot story. Also it may please your mastership further to understand that the gardin on the lower side of the house, where the ground did fall 7 foot, shall be by the help of God, which rulyth all things, raised to the height appoynted within thes xiiij dayes at most and made levell in all places. As touching *the conduit, is a thousand six hundred foot long and the most part thereof* 15 *foot depe* and tomorrow having all things prepared the rough layers shall be in to lay the vault which shall gather the water, to whom with the rest of my Lord's Grace's workmen in all places not forgetting your affaires the loving God send felicitous success. From my Lord's Grace's works the 25th of June.

BRYAN TESHE."

No. IX.

Letters from William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, and Anne (Stanhope), widow of Protector Somerset, to Sir John Thynne: about the circumstances of her son, a minor. See p. 151.

1.—WM. PAULET, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER, TO SIR JOHN THYNNE. Dec. 1552.

After right hartie comendacions you shall understand that I can not well grow to no end wth Mr. Chancellor of th'augmentacons for young Mr. Seymor's lands till I may make perfect what he (*i.e.*, the PROTECTOR) had in possession A° xxx^do^ Hen. 8 [1540]* and what thereof he sold before his attainder wch they require to have aproved by patents from the King by dedes of purchase of other men and by accompts for the contynuaunce of the possessions and receipt of the lands.

And as touching the letters patents from the King and dedes of purchase and covenants, all other dothe appere amongst th evidence wth Mr. Chancellor, but some ther be lacking, wch is thought remayneth wth you; and specially the dedes of yor owne purchase of my lord wch I pray you send to me by some one of yor Servants that I may retourne you the same after they have been seen.

And suche other patents covenants and grantes as you have in your keeping of my lords purchase & the booke of accompte aproving what lands was in his hands yerelie after A° xxxij, yf it may be, send unto me also.

And if you, Mr. Barwicke & Mr. Colthurste may com all iij wth dilligence you shall do the heire great service: and if you may not come all iij, come ij or one, bringyng with him the bookes and the sayings of the other ij under their hands.

And yf it lyke you Mr. Colthurst to take the payne come to my house, and there you shall remayne for iij or iiij daies from the perrell of Campion's action, and yet in that case have yor ende I trust.

* In this year an Act of Parliament had been passed *entailing* the lands.

In all wch matier I pray you show yor selfe the child's great frinds nowe at his nede wch shal be better to him than C tymes some othr service another tyme. And retourne me this bringer ymediatelie out of delaye; for the matier must take his ende before the King go out of London. So fare you hartelie well. From London the xiith December 1552.

I pray you mete together to consulte upon this mater & consider well the booke I send you herewth, and marke what faulte ye finde in the booke of the lands in possession & of the lands sold: and of the lands demaunded for recompence: and lett me knowe if any thinge be omitted, or any other thinge leafte unremembered, that you thinke worthie remembraunce or mention, and as you find, so certifie.

And in any wise faile not to send th accompts, the bargynnes, the covenaunts, that ye have, to prove any of thies things: and that, wth the dilligence you may. And yor letters be written alike word for word, as the one may understand what is written to the other; as the same may give you the better occason to meate.

Yor loving frind

WINCHESTER.

To my loving frinde Sir John Thynne, Knight, in haist.

(Endorsed by Sir John Thynne) "Recd. from my lord Marquis of Winchester xvi December 1552."

2.—ANNE (STANHOPE), WIDOW OF PROTECTOR SOMERSET TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.*

1553. Nov. 11. Synce yor beying with me, the Quene's highness [*i.e. Queen Mary*] hath resolved my Sonne to be restored in blood onely by parliament, and *meanith to make him Earl of Harford by creation, wherwith her highnes is bent to geve him such lands as was my L. grace at the death of King Henry.*† And for as moche as yor knolege herein for lerning what lands and manors my L. Grace held the same tyme, is more perfect then any others his officers; thes shalbe ernestly to desire you to call to yor remembrance and peruse yor books, that we may have your ernest help herein. I have already written to Mr. Barwicke and to Hanam for their accounts, in the xxxviij yere of K. H. the viij, and likewise have I spoke with Gowche, Colthurst, and Seymor the sollicitor, to get what may be had at theire hands, but specially whether my L. Grace had any lands twixt Michaelmas and the King's death, which appereth not inthe

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* Original Letters from this Lady are *very rare.*

† The Protector Somerset was *attainted*, not of treason, but of felony. This would not have affected his dignities, and entailed estates. But by an Act of Parliament, passed shortly after his death, all his titles and estates were declared forfeited to the crown. It therefore required a fresh creation to make his son Earl of Hertford. The Dukedom of Somerset remained forfeited until 1660, when, by another Act of Parliament, the Act of forfeiture was repealed.

In 5 and 6 Edward VI., after the death of the Protector, several Acts of Parliament were passed, touching the limitations of his estates. On the 12th January, 1553, [6 Edward VI.,] about a year after his death, the Master of the Wards and Liveries made an appointment of the estates to the young son and his heirs male, in pursuance of the Acts 5 and 6, Edward VI.

Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign, with the advice of the Court of Wards, granted unto Ann (Stanhope), Duchess of Somerset, widow, great part of the Wiltshire estate, (among others,) for the minority of Edward Seymour, her son,

account, no man can so well declare as you can. The Quene's highnes is well pleased to let us have presently such lands as are in her grace's hands, but as yet though we have no full gyft of recompence for lands exchanged and don away, yet have we a promise thereof at many theire hands. Thus praying your earnest and speedy help herein, with my comendacions to your Ladye, I bid ye most hartly ffarewell from London, this xi.th of November, 1553.

I wolld gladly knowe that you have pasede welle your Jorneye, wch I dyd fere moche beyenge so weke as yow were at your gowenge from London.

Yowr lovynge fryud,

ANNE SOMERSET.

[*Address*]

To my lovyng frende,
Syr Jhon Thyn, Knyte.

3.—THE SAME TO THE SAME: ABOUT PURCHASING FOR HER SON THE LEASE OF BEDWYN TITHES.

1554. July 24. After my hartey comendacions with lyke thanckes for that ye wrot unto me on my sonnes behalf concerning the tytle of gevyng the benyfice, these shalbe to advertise you that forasmoche as presently the Lease of Bedwyn ys to be sold, and divers in the contrey ernest to buy the same: and agayne understanding how necessary the thyng ys for my sonnes house at Woolfall, I have thought good to prove such friendship as any waise I am able to mak to borrow the money for a yere or two, according as the parties be able and willing to spare yt. And herein amongst others yf you for your part might spare to send the some of xl or C£ towards the purchase hereof, you shold be repayde the same at such tyme as ye will appoynt. I could at the first have had yt for four hundred pounds, and syne so many do seke yt, some by purchase and some by year, that with much a doo can I get yt for 5 hundred pounds, and yet have I made great friendship therein. And so much have I concluded to geve him, wch somme yf I can bryng him altogether afore Michaelmas I shall take the profetts of this yere. And therefore I pray you let me forthwith have answer what ye may do herein to th'end I myght go forward therafter. Farther, If ye know any others about ye which beare so moch good wyll to me and my sonne as wold lend for any the tymes aforesayd or for half a yere, rather they fayll eyther £xx a peace or more according to theyre habylytie, looke what order ye take with them, God wyllyng, yt shalbe performed, and with thancks to you and them, and any requytall of such plesure as shall lye in my power. And so with my comendacions to my Lady Thynne I byd ye most hartely farewell.

From Shene this xxiiij of July1554.

As for myne owne state of lyvyng the Judges have grawnted me to chose eyther Joynter or dower at myne electyon so that the stay of going through therwith restyth for lacke of th'attorney & sollycytors beyng at the Court where the one of them ys dayly looked for.

Your assured loveng frynd,

ANNE SOMERSET.

[*Address*]

To my veary Loving frend
S^r^. John Thyne, Knyght.

No. X.

The following paper contains the substance of several letters and documents relating to the Earl's affairs, too long for insertion. His claims had met with some opposition from certain parties, Lord Wentworth and others; and the time, at which he presented to the Lord Treasurer the statement here compressed, was in 1573, when he was about 35 years of age. See page 152.

The Protector Somerset (then only Earl of Hertford) had in 32 Hen. VIII. (1540) lands of *inheritance* of the yearly value of ..		£2400
His lands acquired by purchase, gift and increase of living from 1540 to 28th Jan., 1547, when King Henry VIII. died, were of the yearly value of	£2000	5000
His purchases and increase of lands from 1547 until his own death, Jan., 1552, were, yearly	3000	
		£7400

The Earl says that *all* these ought to have descended to him: but there was taken from him in his minority (he being about 14 years of age, and in ward to the King) £5000 a year, viz.: all that his father had acquired between 28 Henry 8 (1537)* and his death, 1552: leaving to him for living and inheritance, only such lands as his father had been in possession of before and down to the year 1537. Also, that he was entitled to, and was to have received, recompense for certain lands parted with by his father after 1547.

William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, was to estimate the recompense, and make it within one year. If he failed to do so, the now Earl of Hertford was, on coming of full age, to enter on so much of the lands taken from him as would amount to such recompense.

Sir John Thynne and other chief officers of the Protector happening to be at the time in the Tower, Winchester could not get full information; but acting on imperfect information decreed £753 14*s.* 3*d.* a year as recompense.

Afterwards, Winchester discovered that £81 a year more ought to have been awarded as recompense: and so assigned three manors to that amount, viz., North Perrott, Chillington and Southarpe, Co. Somerset.

The now Earl says that he contented himself with this arrangement. But Lord Wentworth and others disputed his rights. He defending them, discovered—1. That he ought to have had still larger recompense: 2. That he ought not to have paid certain rents which he had been paying, about £400 a year.

Still, in order to put his claim to what he had got on a safe footing, and to prevent further disturbance, he prays that his title may be confirmed.

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*In 28 Henry VIII., (1537) an Act of Parliament had been passed for settling lands in Somersetshire and what other lands he might acquire upon the heirs male by Ann Stanhope; and in 32 Henry VIII., (1540) another Act for entailing lands.

He adds, "That this statement was delivered to my Lord Treasurer by Mr. Attorney and Mr. Sollicitor under their hands Termino Hillarii, Feb. 1573.

At the foot of one of the papers the Earl has written :—

"Note.—This that I seek is but a feather of myne own goose: Whereas if I were ambitiously disposed, or to into the world as diverse would have done, I should have claimed restitution of the whole once meant me by Q. Mary contrary to me in Religion."

No. XI.

The Earl of Hertford's Statement (A.D. 1573) concerning the Fine of £15,000 set upon him in the Star-Chamber, for marrying Lady Katharine Grey. See page 153.

[The fine originally fixed by the Star-Chamber upon the Earl of Hertford for marrying Lady Katharine Grey was £15,000. Of this the Queen at once remitted £10,000 before he was sent to the Tower. Of the remaining £5000, she insisted on receiving £1187, leaving £3813. Of this, £1000 more was remitted through the interference of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State; bringing it down to £2813. It was at this stage of the affair, the Earl's lands being then under distraint for the amount, that the following letter was written to Secretary Walsingham, in 1573, the Earl being then about 35 years of age. Sir. F. Walsingham got another £1000 taken off, leaving in 1579 a remnant of about £1813, for which certain manors continued to be distrained: but ultimately the whole of the remainder was remitted, and a copy of the warrant of release is at Longleat.]

The Statement.

"For Mr. Secretary Walsingham, who desired a Note of the somme already paid in." [*Written on the margin of the original.*]

"The somme set upon me in the Star-chamber was fivetyne thousand pounds, my land never being distreined therfore, tyll a litle before my coming to the Tower. At what tyme her Majesty released ten thousand pounds of the fyvetyne thowsand. After, when I was at Tower, and made sute for the release of my poore Tenants pitifully distreined for the remain demaunded, wch was fyve thowsand pownds, her Majesty sayd she would have one thowsand payd afore she would releaze any part of the sayd five thowsand pounds. Whereupon was payd in, one thowsand one hundred, fourscore and seven pounds (£1187). Shortly after, her Majesty cut off one thowsand pownds more. So as ther remaineth to be payd tow thowsand eight hundred and thirtyne pownds (£2813) which my trust is her Ma'ty will eyther wholy cut off or at the lest, the greatest part; if it may please her Ma'^ty^ to remember the whole somme was first set but *for terror*, as also my humble retourne out of France upon the first cawll,* my

*Hertford had married Lady Katharine in 1560. In 1561 Queen Elizabeth, not being yet aware of it, but seeing him about the court unsettled and strange in his mind, (as he might well be with such a secret upon it,) ordered him to travel abroad. The marriage being found out soon after his departure, Lady Katharine was sent to the Tower, and a message was sent to the Earl to return immediately. He made no attempt to escape or shirk his share of the consequences, but instantly recrossed the Channel, hastened to the Court and boldly avowed himself her husband. This is the "return" to which he alludes. He then followed his wife to the tower. (See Miss E. Cooper's Life of Lady Arabella Stuart, i., 197.)

patient abiding her Ma^ty's heavy displeasure in prison *ten years lacking one moneth*, my sondry grete losses in the sayd space, by my officers, and lastly, sithense her Ma^ty's most happy favor restored, my diligent attendaunce and arredinesse these full six years, to do any service commaunded which I shall be more able to perfourme when I may find some frute of her Ma^ty's favorable speaches and good opinion; her Ma^ty's gratious dealing in this behaulf being more worth unto me then ten tymes the valew of the remain. Otherwise contrary to my owne disposition I shallbe enforced to leave her Ma^ty's comfortable presence by renewing my sute of travel, wherby, in letting my land to most advantage, abating my maintenance, I may take order to pay my credit at home and at my retourne be able to serve her Ma^ty, whear now for want I can not shew my affectionate mind if her Ma^ty should any wayes employ me."

[*Endorsed*]

"A Remembrance of the Earl of Hertford for Mr. Secretary Walsingham."

No. XII.

1. Edward Earl of Hertford, from prison, to the Lords of the Council. (No date.)[1] See p. 153, *Note* 2.

"Most honorabyll and my synguler good Lordes: my duty w^t all humbylnes consyderyd. Wher as by the want of consyderacon of my most bownden dute I have fallen into the gret Indyngnacon and dysplesure of the quen's M^te, the offence beying so yowthfull and unadvysed for want of hyre hyghnes lycence, as the felynge therof in myne owne brest hathe bene & ys ane uncurabyll gref unto me, I therefor my good lords knowyinge the most gentyll & well dysposyd naturs of yowe all, have bene so bould to request yowre favorabyll lycence to open myne afflyctyd mynd unto you; and do most humbly upon my knes acknowledge the gretnes of sayd faut & howe worthely I have deservyd all th enprysonment trobyll and dysplesure y^t I have receyvyd. Well consyderyng y^t althoughe I have never so good wyll & desyre to Recompence & Redrese the same, yet I aknowledge the faute to be suche that yt lyethe not in my power to do yt: therfor yeld I myself only to be under the quen's Ma^te gret mercy & perdon. Most humbly therfor my good lords styll upon my knes beseche your honors to be a meane unto hyre hyghnes to have pytty upon my pyttefull & wery lyf, my lone & longe Inprysonment, my hevy & dolorous hart utterly helples without hyre sayd mercy grauntyd. I greve I sey the same withowt myne owne desert, hopyng to Receyve therby fyrst sum . . . . . lyberte of walk to Releve my self and contynewe my helthe, sum Repayre of sum of my poore frends to gyve me advyse howe furder to humbyll my self with contynewall humbyll suts to hyre highnes, wherby she may withdrawe hyre hevy hand from my hevy tormented hart. Affyrmynge unto your lordshyps that there cane [*can*] no mane [*man*] Imagyne so humbyll and semely way of submyssion as I have a faythfull and obedyent hart Redy to yeld hyre Matie the same, and so wyll contynewe durynge my lyf with contynewall prayer to God for hyre long prosperous Reynge over us & your lordshyps Increse of honor."

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[1] Printed from the original rough draft found at Longleat.

2.—Lady Katharine Grey to her Husband. [*No date.*]*

"No small joye, my Deare Lorde, is it to me the comfortable understanding of your mayntayned helth. I crave of God to let you susteine, as I doute not but he wyll; you neyther I havyng any thinge in thys moste lamentabyll tyme so much to comforte by pytyfull absense each other wyth, as the hearing, the seaking and contynuance thereof in us both. Though of late I have not byn well, yet now, I thank God, pretely well, and longe to be merry with you as you do to be with me. . . . I say no more but be you merry as I was heavy when you the third time came to the door and it was locked. Do you thynke I forget old fore-past matters? No surely I can not, but bear in memory far many more than you think for. I have good leisure so to do when I call to mind what a husband I have of you and my great hard fate to miss the viewing of so good a one. [Then follows some indistinct pleasantry which seems to allude to "brats so fast one after another," and "with the blessed increase of children we shall altogether be beggared."] "Now to her Grace, whose letter I send you here inclosed that you may see how kyndly she wryteth. . . . Thus most humbly thanking you, my sweet Lord, for your husbandly sending both to see how I do, and also for your money, I most loveingly bid you farewell: not forgetting my especyall thanks to you for your book, which is no small jewel to me. I can very well read it, for as soon as I had it, I read it over even with my heart as well as with my eyes; by which token I once again bid you *Vale et semper salus* my good Ned.

Your most lovyng and faithful wyfe during lyfe,

Katharine Hartford.

I pray my Lord be not jealous of a thing I shall desire you to do which is, to tell your Poet I think great unkindness in him for that I understand he should have come to me, but when he was wished, he groaned . . . . Well, yet though he would not come to me, I would have been glad to have seen him; but belike he maketh none account of me as his Mistress which I cannot but take unkindly at his hands."

No. XIII.

Account of the Bible used in the Tower by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey. Found at Longleat. See page 154.

The little volume is described in the title-page as "La Sainte Bible, en François, á Lyon. Par Sebastien Honoré, 1558." At the top of the page is written the Seymour family motto, "Foy pour devoir," and at foot "E. Hertford," next to which is a signature "W. Wingfield." The Earl had also written a Greek sentence, signifying "In human affairs nothing is certain."

On the first fly-leaf at the end, in the Earl's writing, are the entries of the Births of their two sons in the Tower.

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*This letter, a few sentences of which being of a purely private kind I have witheld, is taken from a copy in the handwriting of Margaret Cavendish Harley, the celebrated Duchess of Portland, found among her papers at Longleat. The original letter is probably the one described as "private and affectionate," among the "Duke of Northumberland's Papers, vol. iii." (See Third Report of the Historical Commissioners, p. 47.

"Mon plus aisné filz Edouard Beauchamp fust né après le Midy du Jour Mercredy 24 du Septembre, 1561, un peu après les deux heures, un quart d'heure ou demy heure.

Mon second Thomas Seymour fust né Jeudy-matin unziesme du Feburie, 1563, environ quart d'heure après les dix heures. Dieu leur donne sa gran Benediction paternelle. Amen."

Then follows a prayer in French, in which allusion is made to the Queen's displeasure:—

"Dieu tout puissant pere de toute consolation Que te mercie très humblement et très affectueusement de ta grande misericorde et bonté infinie qu'il t'a plu monstrer en l'endroit de ma femme et moy en la delivrant hors des grands dangers d'enfantement et de maladie. Aussy en nous envoyant à tous deux les benedictions des euvres des tes mains: te priant Seigneur Dieu, la consoler et fortifier en santé et patience: et aussy les petites creatures nos deux fils avec ta divine et chère protection et benediction. Par laquelle nous voyons bien que tu ne veux nous laisser l'âme desesperer de ta grande misericorde et bonté infinie; mais, comme pere, nous voul . . . faire cognaistre ton affection paternelle. Il te plaist encore nous chastier de tes verges pour mieux nous faire te recognaistre et ta puissance absolue. Ainsy nous sçavons bien que c'est en ta seule puissance de rendre ton euvre de grace . . . en la fin du tour accomply et parfait. Pour à quoi parvenir nous te prions tres-humblement que comme il t'a pleu nous mettre en la mauvaise grace d' Elizabeth nostre Reyne et maistresse; ainsi qu'il te plaist luy mettre en l'esprit ta vertu de douceur et clemence, qui es accoustumé de pardonner les fautes à tous ceux qui de bon cuer les reconnaissont. Vuielle donc regarder et pitier nous les dictes personnes ayant esté de longue maus [?] et estant encore batues des plusieurs tes verges. . . . Seigneur, autant ou plus rigoureuse que jamais comme de l' affliction d'esprit de . . . et de plusieurs autres calamités. Console nous donques selon que tu cognois que nous en avons besoing, et en nous faizant profiter tes chastimens à nre correction. Confirme nous en bonn patience, moderez ta rigueur selon ta saincte ordonnance, faiz que nous puissons jouir luy. . . ."

At p. 293, at the text, Deut., xxi., 18, ("If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son," &c.,) is written on the margin.—

"L'enfant arrogant et rebelle sera lapidé a la mort."

It is possible that this entry may have been made at a later period, with reference to the behaviour of his eldest son Edward, Lord Beauchamp, whose marriage against his father's approval, was the cause of much discomfort to the Earl.

No. XIV.

Letters from the Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne, about Wulfhall. See page 156.

1.

1557. 22 Aug. From Hanworth, Co. Middlesex.

About his affairs, obtaining his "Office," * and wants a friendly jury, and

* An "Office" is the legal name for an Inquisition as to lands forfeited by felony or treason.

to win the Feodary's favour, "Wherefore as I have my chief trust in you, so I pray you let not this, my furtherance, stick or quail for want of a little money: which, if God send me life, shall not be unrequited."

2.

1558. July 18. From Hanworth.

Proposes to spend a fortnight in the country, visiting four houses of friends in Wiltshire, and four in Somerset, in order to get the acquaintance of the gentlemen, Sir J. Thynne to name the houses. The rest of the time at Wulfhall to kill some bucks for them; wants the loan of 100 marks for the journey.

3.

1561. July 7. From Paris "scribbled in haste." "When and in what sort I was of late assauted, Pile, I think, by this time, hath told you."

4.

1567. From Oldthropp (*Althorpe, Sir John Spencer's*).

Great abuses committed by your brother (*i.e., brother-in-law*), Wroughton, in and about my Forest; and also his new device about the purlieu of my Lord of Pembroke whereby he justly procureth unto himself rather new displeasure and evill opinion at my hands than pardon and reconciliation for his former abuses and enormities. A breach between his father Berwick, and Button.

Wishes Thynne to effect a reconciliation between Mr. Berwick, "my cousin Wroughton" and Mr. Button.

5.

1568-9. Feb. 28. "After my right hartie comendacions. Like as I have already requested you to take some paynes for me about the hanging reckonings* at my house at Wolphall; even so, hearing by credible report, that the same my house is in way of utter ruine unlesse some speadie repayring be thought uppon for the same; I have thought good to desire you now at your being there to consider thoroughly of the state thereof and so to make an estimate what stone, tymber, brick, lyme, sand, and such other necessaries apperteyning to building will be nedefull for the reparation of the same, and what somme the provision of the premisses with the chardges of the Artificer will amount unto. And thereuppon to certify me by your letters, praying likewis y^r^ farther advise what order I may take therein for my best husbandrie in that behalfe. And so for this tyme leave you to God. From Oldthropp [Althorp] Sr John Spencer's house the last of February, 1568.

Y^r^ loving friend,

E. Hertford.

You have a proper tall gentelman with a red beard and a black hed. If he occupy the lyke place that the profession of his service hath heretofore tended unto, as a frend and one that knowes him

Paucis admoneo,

Cave."

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* Meaning perhaps, "unsettled accoun[t]"

6.

1569. Sept 19. "Good Sir John. Harty thanks for your sendings. These are to pray you to remember your haste of my platt: that thereafter I may provide for windowes and such things necessary. My tower is down. Easyer it is, you will say as truth, to pull down then set up, but better is it and more safety when the tymber is rotten, to pull down, lest it fall; as that was alltogether gon and the very iron of the windowes consumed in the middest.

Have returned back your rogue with thanks: Also for him and by him a couple of pastyes of red deer according your desyre. Thus harty comendacions to your Lady remembered, I leave you to God. In hast from Wollf haull this 19 of Sept. 1569.

Yr. loving frend
E. Hertford."

7.

1569. Dec. 24. "Emanuel.*

Sir Jo. Thyn. Harty comendations remembered. I send you your desired case of daggs [*pistols*] with their furniture. They are good of proof double chardge as your man can tell you. I send you also a book dedicated to the Rebells as well and as pithily penned as I ever red any, wrytten per Thomas Norton my old scolemaster. I know yow will lyke it very well, but the oftener you reade it the better. Our newes, thanked be God, that the Rebells are fled, but the certainty is not yet known.

The French newes are very good, for the Amirall is growen very strong, & in the night soudenly without noyse of drommes foyled diverse of the Kings power, the King himself hardly escaping by flight.

Vale and comend me to your Lady. Wollf haull this xxiiij *horâ decimâ* 1569.
Y. lov. fr.
E. Hertford."

8.

1573. 24th June. Invites Sir John to visit him at Wulf hall, and bring his Harper with him.

9.

"Emanuel.

For Sr Jo. Thin. These are to challenge you for not visiting me from Sarum. I now stand in need of your healp &, in your absence, of your man's—Lewes—about my middle garden house which whether be best to be in square, round, or cant order, I am doubtfull, therefore do reserve to your judgement, by letter and by him.

I pray send by him the platt of my house devised by you & Omphrey Lovell. Touching Tottenham Lodge, where you know the buttry was devised behind the kitchin I have altered & will have it under the hawle (the ground being digged 7 foot under for stowadge of my wine and beer). And that which should have been the pastry [*i.e., pantry*] shall be the butcher's office.

* A common heading to letters in those days.

I now send you Tanfild, both to see your new building [*Longleat*] and also with remembrance of your suit for him to your maid, with a letter here inclosed for your bedfellow, in his commendation. He hath gotten a new schoolmaster Mr. Powell by name, who is but haulf frend to all his old acquaintance, as your brother [*i.e., in law*] Tom Wroughton will tell you. Powell far passeth Baynard the Justice.

Your loving friend

E. Hertford.

[On the margin]

I send you verses writ as it is said by the Q. Matie herself upon this late lewd rebellion. And thus God have us in his keeping. The Irish, praised be God, they say have lately ben overthrowen.

To my very Loving friend Sir John Thynne, Knight, give these."

10.

1573. Aug. 27. "Having begun a Conigree [*rabbit-warren*] for the necessary provision of my house, I am driven to desyre the ayde of my neighbours and friends towards the storing thereof. And knowing you to have a Game of Conies I have thought good to desire of you as many couples of store conies as you may conveniently yield to me for the storing of the said Conigre.—From Wolfhall."

11.

1573. 28th Oct. Asks what news about Henry Sidenham and his company being drowned in the sea waves.

12.

1573. 20th Nov. Wants to know if Blagrave will let him have the Parsonage of Bedwyn, if his offer of good will when the Earl of H. first came to Wulfhall from Sir John Spencer's be not cold. "But if Totnam be summer frends as the Proverb sayeth, & then otherwise he doth determine to sell it, then you know what little cause we have to trust his heretofore pretended offers. . . . I pray you write me also what you know of Seymour Castle in Wales, what tyme my grandfather sold it & to whom and for what pries."

13.

Queen Elizabeth has been at Longleat.

1574. Oct. 11. Thanks be to God Her Majesty is well retourned with good health and greate liking her entertaynment in the West parts, and namely at your howse which twise sithence [*since*] to myself, and the last Sonday to my lady's Grace she greatly commended. ["*My Lady's Grace*" *was Anne Stanhope, widow of the Protector.*]

14.

1574-5. 25th Jan. Has had an offer from Mr. Daniel, of Marlborough, "of his house at St. Margaret's, and all the land belonging, as also Patern House,* w^h^ is a great spoil to my wood in the forest—or w^d^ depart with Patern-house

* Meaning perhaps "Puthall.

alone." Wants to know "which is the finest wood now in my hands or in reversion, that my Lord's Grace [*i.e. his own father, the Protector*] made accompt. of to reserve for his Building?" [*i.e. for his intended house at Bedwyn Brail*].

15.

SIR JOHN THYNNE'S GOOD ADVICE ABOUT WOODS.

"Touching the woods your Father meant to have had his timber for buildinge, you have none of them; for he meant to have had most of it out of the forest of Chute & Bradon & some out of the Broyll & other places therabouts: but your Lordship must now reserve your timber in all places so as you may have some part in one place and some in another as it may be to serve your turn. And to give order to Tutt that there be no trees any where sold that would serve either for long or short timber: it is a bad tree that will not serve for short timber, for if he would rise to 5 or 6 feet of short timber it would serve for some purpose & save the cutting of longer timber. Under the colour of scrubbes good timber may be sold: therefore give order to all your woodwards & those that have the doing with your woods that no trees be solde, & then you shall be sure not to be deceived, or otherwise your under woodwards would please their friends and cut down your best trees under colour of scrubbes, as partly you had experience of in your forest."

16.

22nd March. 1574-5. "Harty commendacions remembered. These are to desire your company sometime before Friday come sevenight for then I retourne toward the Court, God willing, before which tyme I would willingly speake with you. So far thys tyme I leave you to God the 22 of March 1574. From Ulphall, determined to go to Awmsbury tomorrow but to be here again Thursday next.

Commend me to your good lady.

Your loving frend

E. HERTFORD."

17.

1574. 3rd Dec. From Ulphaull. About Sharpham Park (near Glastonbury), Maiden Bradley, Lady Compton's accident, &c.

18.

1575. 29th March. About the Parsonage at Bedwyn, Mr. Newdigate, and Mr. Blagrave. From Ulphall.

19.

1575. 29 March. "From Ulphall.

One thing more now at my coming from the Court, Mr. Newdigate with whom I talked concerning his help for bringing the Parsonage of Bedwyn into my hands, told me he w^d^ do what he could and excusing himself by an offer unto me at the first of the said parsonage (which he said I refused) sayeth the first cause of his misliking with you was for that being put in trust with the same by my Lord's Grace to my use, you, to convey yourself out of the Tower put it into old L. of Pembroke's hands: with much like stuff. I pray you, therefore, both answer, that fully and justly I may satisfy both myself and his allegations,

and withall write your advise how I may best deale to recover the same again; you being well acquainted how Blagrave had it at Mr. Newdigat's hands, and how in my minority tyme to my use he bought it with money which he borrowed of my Tenants before he sold it to Mr. Blagrave.*

P.S.—[About Mr. Daniel's offer.]

It is but talk yet: wherefore before we draw to further resolution think what I may best spare . . . . as you know his land (although barren) lieth so commodiously for me. I have heard the Duke my Father had great liking of it: if it weare so, I think you know the cause why he refused it: whether for not agreeing upon like valew (for neyther he nor I have, I take it, any land so bad) or through his untimely death that leaft many things unperformed."

20.

1575. 2 April. From Wulphall.

Means to put Blagrave "*aliàs* Acteon," into Chancery.

"For Daniel be sure we will deal as hardly as he shall, but if nothing els fall out he will be content to bargain for his house which is very noisom to my forest old trees."

No. XV.

Tottenham Lodge: The Household there in A.D. 1582. Letter from R. Smyth, the Chaplain, to the Earl of Hertford. See page 157.

[In December, 1581, works were going on at Tottenham Lodge, under Thomas Langford, an agent. The letters mention the construction of "The High Walk," "The Low Pond walk," the stables, orchard, conduit-house.

In 1582—3, the Earl of Hertford was living at Tottenham Lodge, as appears from the next paper.]

"Totnam Lodge. *A Note of the names of the Ordinarie of Household there, viijth Januarie*, 1582—3, *viz.*:—

Mr. Robert Smyth	Smyth, keeper of the Parke	
Robert Tutt	Thomas Gaskyn, slaughter-man	
George Ludloe	John Dowdinge, smyth	
Michaell Siddenham	Tom Cooke	
Thomas Langford	Henry Francis, Cooke's new boy	
Gilbert Prynne	John Combes	
Henry Rookes	Jack Hunton, a kitchen boy	
John Hidden	Richard	Groomes of your Lordship's stable.
Jack Lewes	Florrey	
Thomas Mondaye	Herne	
George Bollinge	Hopkins	
John Pledall	Bartholomew	
Thomas Davis	Warren	

* Some confusion arose after the Protector's death about the Prebend or Parsonage of Great Bedwyn, all of which had belonged to him. Part of it had subsequently been granted to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, and part exchanged with the Crown. It was then found out that there was some part that had neither been given to the Dean and Canons nor exchanged. This part was granted to Mr. Newdigate, who sold it to Blagrave, from whom the Earl of Hertford after (as it seems) some trouble, ultimately purchased it.

Thomas Westcott
Davy Ricche, farrier
Thomas Hewes, ale brewer
Thomas Warren, ostringer [*i.e. Falconer*]
Gilbert, the beer-brewer
Barnaby, the baker
Cusse, the boy of the bakehouse
Hugh, boy of the Warderobe
John Connye
Connie's wyfe
Connie's boy
Jack, the Falconer's boy
Edmonds, Robert Tutt's man
James, Mr. Ludloe's boy
Southerne, Mr. Smith's boy."

Mr. Robert Smith, at the head of the above list, was tutor to the young Lord Beauchamp and his brother Thomas, and probably chaplain. Of his style of composition, the following specimen remains:—

R. Smyth to Edward E. of Hertford.

30 *Jan.* "Bi this bearer (my singuler good Lord) I have sent two such as I could call to mynd, the one longer, the other shorter, more wold I have sent but that '*omnium rerum est satietas*,' I feare theise be to much. The names of suche bokes are herein enclosed, as apperteine to such purpose. The argument of the first titled boke is; the Poete meaning to extoll the praise of Isotta dawghter to the prince of Ariminium and married to the Duke of Forence [*sic*] he feineth Jupiter to have been ravished wyth her excellent beuty. His first epistle conteyneth Jupiter's wowing. The second Isotta her modest and matronlyke refusall. The third Jupiter's reply wherein '*precibusq minas regaliter addit.*' But as appeareth by the others folowing,

'*Nil prece, nil pretio, nil valet ille minis.*'

For she told hyr husband who writeth to Mars to defend him from Jupiter's wrath. And Mars to Phœbus to take his parte. Jupiter wrytes it to Saturne, and Saturne to Luna to steal her away by night. Mercury calleth a counsel of the gods wherein yt ys determined that Pallas and Venus should be sent with this embassage; that Sigismunde should enjoye Isolta peaceably as long as she ys mortall and after Jupiter to have her when she is immortall. The peace being thus concluded Luna and Juno gratulate the Erth for joy of the peace concluded.

What story was ment that I told whether of Cephalus or Procris or Hippomanes and Attalanta or Linceus and Hipermnestra, I know not. If I misse the title of the boke of Questions, theise are some of theime. A lady loving two at a banquett she toke from one a garland and put yt on her heade: to the other she gave a garland which before she had upon her head. The question ys, whether (of the two) she loved better. Another, whether yt be better for a woman to marry a wyse man, a stronge man, or a riche man.

Another, whether the lover is more passioned in presence or in absence. Thus, with "*Jucundum est amare si cures ne quid insit amari*," I take my leave.—Wolphall, 30 January.

Yor. L. most bounden and humble
R. Smyth."

No. XVI.

Mr. Robert Tutt's letter to the Earl of Hertford, describing Queen Elizabeth's kindness to the Earl's two sons. See page 157.

[The second person in the household list, Mr. Robert Tutt, had also charge of the two young gentlemen, and attended them when on a visit to Queen Elizabeth, at Hanworth, Middlesex, from which house Mr. Tutt thus writes to the Earl at "Totnam Lodge."]

10 June, 1582. "My humble dutie unto your honour remembered. It may please the same to be advertised that Her Grace remayneth still troubled with the cough which with her age maketh her feble and weak. Her Grace will not desire your Lp retorne, but yet I know, willing enough to see your L. here; neyther request a Buck, but will take more [in] thankfull part one Buck voluntarily sent, especially at thys tyme of the yere, than a leash hereafter. And although your Lp dothe conceyve, that it is no meat for Her Grace, being as she is, yet to have it in her house and to pleasure her neighbours and friends with venison at this tyme of the yere, it is no small pleasure. Those pinates * whereof your L. maketh mention, Her Grace receyveth to ripen the flewme. Touching my Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Thomas, they continue for their dispositions after one sort. They have read my fellow Smith's last letters in Latin, to Her Grace; and afterwards put the same into English to Her Grace, as your Lp willed. With my L. Beauchamp Her Grace had speciall speeches, to what effect I know not, but without all doubt for his great good if he have a prepared mynde to follow grayve and sound counsels. Her Grace made him fetch his booke, entituled, '*Regula Vitæ*,' & out of the same to read the Chapiters '*De veritate et mendaciis*.' Your L. shall do well in wonted manner to acknowledge her Grace's great care of them and their well doing.

Now if your L. hath any meaning that Her Grace shall visit Totnam this summer, then is it necessarie your honour acquaint my fellow Ludloe with your L. determination therin: that all necessaries may be thought upon and provyded in tyme."

No. XVII.

Frances Howard, the Earl's second wife, to him. Queen Elizabeth's fall from her horse. See page 158.

"Sweet Lorde, I thanke God moste humbly for your good helth and well doinge, and I moste hartely desier hym to continue and increyse the same, and I thanke you for so sone sendeng to me for I was a lettell mallencolly for fere that you had not your helth, and I was sending my man Lennerd to you but you prevented me by your foutman who met me as I was comynge home wayt-ynge on the Quene abrode; but a lyttell before we were all grettly afraed for that her Majestes horse in stombleng, feall withall, and she withall felle, but as she says, she lepped of frome hym, but her foutman stode her in grate sted but thankes be to God she had no kynde of harme and presently after she wallked

* Pinates: probably the same as "pinnonades" (Halliwell's Archaic. Dict.) "a confection made chiefly of almonds and *pines* whence the name."

a-fote halfe a myell. You may thynk what a fereful sight it was: her Majeste wolde have riden on that horse agayne, but he wold not suffer her to come on hys backe. She is very well, thankes be to God, and is determined to goe a Prograce in to Sussex, but whan she will begin it is not knowen. There is no more speache of her goynge to Wansted, and therefore you nede not stay the longer from hence but whan she will goe she sayth it shall be to Nonsuche, and there you shall have a loggynge for so my Lord Lomley hymself told me and assured me for he is now att the Courte & there is no tyme apoynted when she will remove but you shall be sure of a loggynge at Nonsuche. . . . Your moste faythefull lovying and obedente wife during lyfe

FRANCES H.

[*Endorsed*] Rec^d. by Robert Footman, Monday 11th June 1582."

No. XVIII.

Message from William Seymour (afterwards Marquis of Hertford) to Lady Arabella Stuart, suggesting the prudence of breaking off their proposed marriage. *(From the original rough draft.)* See page 159.

"I am com from Mr. William Seymour wth a message to your La: wch was delevered unto me in ye presence of this gent^n yor servant and therefore yor La: may be assured I will neither add nor diminish, but will truly relate unto you what he hath dyrected me to do, wch is thus: he hath seriously considered of the proceedings betwene yor La: and hymselfe, and doth well perceive, if he should go on therein, it would not onely prove exceeding prejudiciall to yor contentment, but extreame dangerous to hym, first in regard of the inequality of degrees betwene yor La: and hym, next, the King's Matie's pleasure and comandment to the contrary, wch neyther yor La: or hymselfe did ever intend to neglect: he doth therefore humbly desier yor La:, since the proceeding that is past doth not tye him nor yor La: to any necessytie but that you may freely commit each other to your best fortunes, that you would be pleased to desist from your intended resolution concerning hym, who likewyse resolveth not to trouble you any more in this kind, not doubting but y^or La: may have one more fitter for your degree (he having alredy presumed too hygh) and hymselfe a meaner match with more securyty."

No. XIX.

Letter from Sir William Monson to the Earl of Salisbury about the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart.[1] See page 160.

"Right Ho:

Sr Edward Souche and Sr William Button aryved hear betwixt 7 and 8 a cloke in the morning; and according to your Lo: derecktiones we ar readie to performe every pertyckuler: and for the more conveniencey & spead we doe imbarke in the french barke wherein they where taken, & goeth with her to the

[1] Found among the Duchess of Portland's collections at Longleat.

North Foreland where we shall have choyce of keatches to put my Ladie and her servants in. And the barke with the passengers to ply up as convenient as they maye. And least the wind doe overblowe & hange westerly, as yt is licke to doe bothe, I have wryten to the officers of the Navye to hasten downe with all spead—the Light horseman to meet us at the east end of the Swale; and so to rowe derecktly up to London: but least yor Lo shuld not knowe the meaning of the Swale, yt is the eastermost part of Shepy whear we shall rowe betwixt the yland and the mayne: and so with the remembrance of my servis I humbly take my leave.

Yo^{r} Lo: in all servis to be comanded.

WILL: MONSON.

There is no newes yett of the Charells: nor any other pertycullers touching Mr. Seamor."

[*The Address*] "For his Matie^{s} servis.
To the right ho: my especiall
good Lo the Earle of
Salsbury Lord Hoy Tresurer
of Engdeland. hast: hast
post hast
hast: hast: hast.

"aboard the Adventure
10 cloke forenoone." WILL: MONSON."

[*On the reverse, above and below the seal, in three different hands.*]
at greenwych . . . afternoone.
at C . . at . . past 3
a cloke in the afternoone.
Sittingbourne at 6 in the afternoone.
Rochester at 7 a clocke at night.
Dartford at past 9 a clocke at night.

No. XX.

Memorandum of Lady Arabella's clandestine marriage on the fly leaf of Mr. Hugh Crompton's account book, found at Longleat. See page 161.

"The 22th of June 1610
about 4 in the morninge
My La: was married at Greene-
wiche to Mr. WILLIAM
SEYMOUR.

Witnesses at the mariadge
Mrs. Byron
Mrs. Bradshawe *
Mr. Rodney
Mr. Kyrton
Mr. Blauge † the Minist^{r}

* Her two female attendants.
† Blague.

Mr. Reeves, &
Myselfe *
The 8 of July Mr. Sey (*sic*)
was comytted to Tower.
The 9 of the same moneth
My La: to Sr Thos. Parrye's.

[The next entries refer to other persons not connected with the marriage.]

My la: Dunb. dyed 30th of
July being Wensday abowt
7 in the morning 1610. †
My L: Kyn: the of July 1610." [*Lord Kinloss* ?]

No. XXI.

William Seymour's confession. The signature in his own handwriting. (From Bodl. Lib. Tanner MSS. 75, fol. 353.) See page 161, *Note* 1.

"The Examination of Willyam Semar, Esq. before ye Ll^s^ of his Matys prevye Councell the 8th of July 1610.

He confesseth that upon Fryday was fortnight he was maryed unto the La: Arbella at Greenw^h^ in the chamber of the sayd La: Arbella ther. That there was present one Blagew sonne to the Deane of Rochest^r^ who was the minister that maryed them; ther were also present one Edward Rodné, Crompton—gent: usher to the La: Arbella, Edward Kyrton, and Edward Reve, Mrs. Biron and Mrs. Bradshawe two servants to the La: Arbella. The maryadge was on the Fryday morninge beforesayd, between fouer and fyve of the clock, but without any Lycense as he confesseth.

He saith he came to Greenw^h^ on the Thursday at night abowt twelffe of the clock, accompanyed with the said Rodné and Kyrton and did sitt upp in the La: Arbella her chamber all the night untill they were maryed.

William Seymaure."

No. XXII.

Letter from William Seymour's grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, to him when abroad: and another from the same to the Earl of Salisbury. See page 162.

Oct. 23, 1613. "Your former great offences which I neede not expresse aded to y^r^. course of life, ever since you escaped over the seas, not a litle agrevated by your late wilfull repaire to Duncerke, contrary to his Majestie's pleasure, and my instructions sent you by your Tutor Pellinge ‡ under pretence of fear of credito^rs^ in Fraunce, would make any Grandfather hate the memorie of

* Mr. Hugh Crompton, her steward.

† Probably Lady Dunbar, wife of Sir George Hume, created Earl of Dunbar, 1604.

‡ Mr. Felling, one of the Earl's chaplains, had been sent over to William Seymour, about November, 1611.

suche a nephew.* I had thought his Matie's gratious favour, that out of his princely compacion on your weeknes, drew from mee so greate an annall allowance, my care of your education from your cradle, & your dayly protestacion by Letters that you would amend all your errors, had ben enough to have with-held you from Duncerk or any other forbydden place, though it had ben with the losse of your liberty, or at least drawen you for a time to Jeneva, where your religion could not be corrupted, rather than to indevour payment of your debts by a worse means then they were incurred. These considerations make me fear though you are not corupted in your religion, from which God I hope will deliver my family, that you are falen from his grace and service without which you can never prosper, nor any naturall care of myne take good effect. You writ for payment of your debts and have prevayled with my worthy friend the Lord Imbassador Ledger (Edmunds) to write for increase of meanes, but do not consider how litle your ill government & profusse expense doth incourage mee to contynew that you have already. Is not £400 a yere from your aged Grandfather whose estate by debts and these like burthens stands more deeply ingaged then his life-time is like to free, an exceeding greate allowance? which notwithstanding, I have not long since paied to Langrett your Marchant in Paris, £100 for you whereof your letter makes noe mention. To conclude, I advise you in the feare of God, serve him, amende your course of life, be carefull not to do any thinge that may offend your gracious Soveraigne, to whom I wishe myselfe and all myne to be saints, though to God we cannot bee but sinners, live within your compasse, depend uppon the good advise and counsell of that worthey gent. the Lo. Imbassador to whome you are muche bounde, his good indevours & justificacion of your reformation may be greate means for you one day to kisse that Royall hand which may make you happie, and bee a comfort to my old age. Whereas by your relaps you shalbe sure to rewin your selfe and what in you lyes tumble my graye haires with sorrow to my grave. In this course uppon farther triall, I may be drawen to do for you what my meanes will give leave. And ever so prayinge God to blesse you with his Holy Spirite, I reste.

[At the foot of the above letter is the following rough draft of another letter relating to it.]

My Lord; in theise parts men saye, he that entertaynes beggars, provides for dayly guests, from which cayse myne differs littell that incoraged by your love and kyndeness do perpetully trouble you. I have lately rec^d letters oute of Fraunce from my nephew William whose fayre promise of amendment hathe gayned the favour of my good frinde Sr Thomas Edmonds the ledger [*ambassador*] theare, my companion to the Archedukes, to write in his behalfe. Your Lp. knowes how much I was lately perplext with his beinge at Dunkerk and what course I helde therein from which my worthy Lo: I know not the waye to vary, & have therefore made boulde to sende these letters and my answeares to your Lp. that perusinge and approvinge my course therein theye maye be sent accordinge to theire directions for which I have taken order with this bearer: And ever so, &c.

* He was the Earl's grandson, but at that time grandsons were called nephews, from the Latin *nepos*.

No. XXIII.

Warrant signed by King Charles I., for the corpse of Robert Lord Beauchamp (son of William Marquis of Hertford) to pass from London to Bedwyn, 23 Jan.. 1645. See page 162.

"CHARLES R.

Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith &c. To all our commanders, Governors Officers and Souldiers Maiors, Sheriifs, Justices of the Peace, Constables and other our Ministers and loving Subjects whome it may concerne Greeting. Our command is that at sight hereof ye permitt the Corps of the Lord Beauchamp (Sonne to the Lord Marquis Hertford) frely to pass all Guards and Scouts from London to Beding in Wiltshire where he is to be interd, and that ye permitt the gentlemen and others appointed to attend the same thither, in all thirteen persons, together with their coaches, Horses and necessaries, to accompany the corps without any lett or impediment, and afterwards to returne peaceably to London without any trouble or hinderance. Wherein ye may not faile. And for so doing this shal be every your sufficient warrant. Given at Or Court at Oxford the 23th day of January 1645. By his Maies Command,

EDW. NICHOLAS."

No. XXIV.

Receipt for the value of the tapestry and bed-room furniture worked by Queen Jane Seymour. See page 163.

[These articles had been given in 1647 by King Charles I. to William Marquis of Hertford, but in 1652, 3 years after the King's death, the Commissioners for the sale of the King's property, made the Marquis pay for them. A very interesting account of the dispersion of King Charles the First's magnificent collection of plate, jewels, pictures, tapestry, &c., is given in Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature (1st Series, Vol. iii., p. 383. The catalogue of them forms a fine folio MS., being Harl. MS., 4898).]

"Whereas William Lord Marquess of Hertford hath caused the sum of sixty pounds to be paid unto the Treasurer for sale of the late King's goods in obedience to a former Order of this committee, which is a satisfaction for Five Pieces of Chequerd hangings of a coarse making, having the Duke of Somersett's [*i.e. Protector* Somerset's] Arms in them, And one furniture of a Bed of Needlework with a chaise [*a chair*] and cushions suitable thereunto, And are said to be wrought by the Queene the Lady Jane Seymaure with a gilt Bedsted thereto. All wich things were delivered to the said Marquess by the late King's warrant dated A° 1647 at Hampton Court. These are therefore by virtue of two Acts of Parliament for Sale of the late King's goods in consideration of the money so payed as aforesaid, to acquit and discharge the said William Lord Marquess Hertford his Heyers and Successors of all and singular the said goods. In witness whereof we have here unto sett our hands and seales this 22th of March 1652.

John Fooke,
Ralphe Grafton,
Henry Creech,
A. Mildmay."

Somerset House.

No. XXV.

Letter from Mr. T. Gape, her steward, to Frances (Devereux) Duchess of Somerset, widow of William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, about the funeral of her grandson, William, third Duke of Somerset, at Bedwyn. Christmas, 1671. See p. 163.

E.*

"May it please your Grace

We came safe with the Hearse to Reading the first night, having Col. Cooke's mourning Coach and himselfe, Sir John Elwes [Nephew to the Lady Seymour]† Mr. Wingfield the Herauld & myself therin, drawne by my Lord Marquesse of Worcester's ‡ 6 Horses, having in all about 8 or 10 Horsemen attending the Hearse and Coach, we bayted not, nor so much as dranke by the way. The next morning betwene 5 and 6 we sett forth from Reading towards Hungerford, and came thither about 1 at noone, where the gentry of the countrey, viz. Sir Francis Popham with his coach in mourning and sixe horses, & a Gentleman of his kindred with him (but Sir Francis was in a light greyish suite) Sir John Elwes of Barton, Mr. Giles Hungerford, Mr. Pleydall of Mugehill, Mr. Geoffrey Daniell, Mr. Goddard, Mr. Deane, Mr. Hungerford of Chisbury, and many others of lesser note, together with many of his late Grace's servants, tenants, farmers, Bayliffs, & some others. After dinner we removed towards Bedwyn and came thither about 3 in the afternoone, and drove into the Church-yard; the Coffin was covered with blacke velvett and a silver plate nayled on it, having an inscription in a plate of silver with his Grace's Titles of honor, a black velvett Cushion with a Ducal Coronett thereon. The Corps being taken out of the Hearse was carried by some of his Grace's servants; Sir Francis Popham, the two Sir John Elwes, Mr. Daniell, Mr. Giles Hungerford and Mr. Pleydall bearing up the Pall at the 4 corners and the middle part. The Chauncell was hung round with blacke Bayes, having Escutcheons with his Grace's Coat-Armes pinned thereon. Mr. Charlett, Parson of Collingbourne Ducis performed the Funerall service, in the middle of which after the Corps was lett down into the grave, the Herauld rehearsed his Grace's Titles of Honour and Dignity. Col: Cooke was the chiefe mourner. There was much rudenesse of the common people, amongst whom none suffered that I hear of, but my selfe, I having above a yard of the cloth of my long Black Cloake cutt or rent off in the crowd at my going into the Church. I lay that night at the great House at Bedwin, being now in the possession of Sr John Elwes of Barton [who married the widow of Mr. Duke Stonehouse]. Col: Cooke, Sr John Elwes the younger, the Herauld, Mr. Thomas (who came into our company at Hungerford), the late Duke's & the Lord Marquess's Servants went that night to Marlborough: of whome I can give your Grace noe further information, save what I heare from Mr. Clotterbocke (who went with them thither) that Mr. Thomas hath displaced the Woodward of Collingbourne Woods, and putt his younger brother Alexander Thomas (who had runne out of his whole Estate, and left the Countrey for debt) into his place.

* E. for "Emanuel" (see above page 195).

† The Lady Seymour alluded to was Elizabeth, daughter of William Lord Allington, wife of Charles Lord Seymour, of Trowbridge.

‡ Mary Capel, the mother of the deceased William Third Duke, had remarried Henry, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards first Duke of Beaufort.

And that Mr. Ryder (who makes all meanes imaginable to get into my Lord Duke's Service) observed to Mr. Clotterbooke, how much money I had lost my Lady Marquesse, by my not agreeing with him in graunting wild Estates at our late Courts.

I humbly beg your Grace's Pardon for this ruder relation; beseech Almighty God to preserve your Grace in good health, with length of days here, and to send your Grace patience and comfort to beare this sad Loss, & Eternall happiness hereafter. This is now and ever shallbe the hearty prayer of Madame, your Grace's most dutifull & obedient Servant THO: GAPE."

" Ambrosbury. St. John's day, in Christmas, 1671.

For her Grace the Lady Duchesse

Dowager of Somersett at Essex house."

No. XXVI.

The Herald-painter's bill at the funeral of Frances (Devereux), widow of William, second Duke of Somerset. May 7th, 1674. See page 163.

MONEY LAYD OUT FOR THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCESS FRANCES DUCHESSE OF SOMERSETT HER GRACE INTERRED AT BEDWIN IN WILTS, MAY THE 7TH, ANNO 1674.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis, for 3 Great Atcheivements of the Quartered Coates Baron & Femme, wrought in oyle with compartments of Gold Coronetts and Supporters, with Gilt Frames	15	0	0
Two dozen of Escucheons on rich Taffaty wrought with quartered Coates, impaled Baron & Femm. with Coronetts, & five gold and silver at 10*s.* the peece	12	0	0
Four dozen of Buckram Escucheons with party gold and silver at 3*s.* 6*d.*	8	8	0
Three dozen of the same in the mourning Room	6	6	0
One dozen more of the same in the Porch	2	2	0
Four dozen of paper escucheons on the Great stair-case, at 2*s.* ..	4	16	0
Three dozen of Buckram escucheons for the Hearse & Horses ..	4	4	0
One dozen of Shields for the Hearse, wrought with compartments, at 6*s.* 8*d.*	4	0	0
Two dozen of Large Pendants for the adorning the Hearse at 3*s.* 4*d.*	4	0	0
Five dozen of small pencills* for the Horses Bridles, at 12*s.* the dozen	3	0	0
Six shaffrons† for the Horse Frontlets	0	15	0
3 dozen more of Buckram Escucheons for the Chapel and Country	6	6	0
For a large Pall of velvet edged with white sarsnett ..	5	0	0
Frames, nails, &c.: garnishing the House and black stands ..	2	4	8
	£81	16	8

* Pencills. Pennoncells, little flags placed in the plumes of feathers on the horse's head, and also fastened to the tail, as may be seen in the procession of Queen Elizabeth's Funeral in *Monumenta Vetusta.*

† Shaffrons, a corruption from the French word "chanfrein," the fore part of a horse's head. It means here the plumes of feathers placed there.

Early Annals of Trowbridge.

By the Rev. W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.,
Canon and Prebendary of Salisbury.

TROWBRIDGE is, in respect of population, the largest town in Wiltshire. Its history has never yet been fully written, and yet few towns have fairer claims to our notice, both on account of the old and interesting associations that are connected with it, as well as from the important position it has now assumed for some years as one of the principal seats of the woollen manufacture in the West of England.

Some years ago a brief sketch of its history, comprised in thirty pages, was attempted by Mr. James Bodman. His little book, written in 1814, has this value at all events, that as a connecting link between the present and the past it enables us to identify one or two points of interest, all traces of which have now disappeared. Otherwise it is a very superficial work, and of little worth. At best he is not over complimentary to his fellow-townsmen. He tells us that "though Trowbridge was renowned for trade, it could not in his time boast of first-rate professional gentlemen for such generally resided in more genteel towns or cities:" and that of those who in his time inhabited Trowbridge, there were "few rich but what had come from poor, and few poor but what had sprung from rich ancestors."

The following pages are offered as a contribution towards the history of Trowbridge, and may be regarded as two or three of the introductory chapters, dealing only with its annals in early days. Already two papers bearing more or less on the same subject—one on "Terumber's Chantry at Trowbridge," and the other on "Lord Clarendon and his Trowbridge ancestry"—have appeared in this Magazine.[1] The complete history of this town however can never be given, unless a detailed account can be written on the rise and

[1] Wilts Arch. Mag., ix., 282, x., 240.

progress of the wool trade, of which for so many years Trowbridge has been an important centre. Let us hope that some townsman, with special qualifications for the task, may be induced to take up the story where we leave it, and so to complete the narrative.

The parish of TROWBRIDGE forms part of the hundred of Melksham. On the south side it adjoins the hundred of Wherwelsdown, and on the west that of Bradford-on-Avon. It consists of a strip of land some *three* miles long, and on an average *one* mile broad, and contains in all 2443 acres. It is divided into several tithings :—on the north is that of STAVERTON containing 679 acres—on the west is that of little TROWLE, with 232 acres—on the south that of STUDLEY, with 1027 acres—and there is also the Town Liberty consisting of some 505 acres. The town itself is situated, as nearly as may be, in the centre of the whole parish. The entire population amounted at the last census, in 1871, to about 11,000. As you look at the map, the first thing which strikes you is the comparatively small acreage for so large a population. The neighbouring parish, that of Bradford-on-Avon, has nearly *five* times the extent of acreage, and yet had in 1871 but little more than 8000 inhabitants—some 20 per cent. less than Trowbridge. No doubt it is owing to the extent and prosperity of its manufactures, and especially to the factory system, the tendency of which is to congregate large masses in towns, that this increase of population has taken place. The population has in fact *doubled* itself during the last century, and it is now the largest town in Wiltshire.

For those who have all their lives been accustomed to regard the town as a large hive of active industry, and to whom no sound is more familiar than the busy hum of numerous artizans swarming periodically to and from their respective scenes of labour, it is by no means easy to realize the time when the whole parish was comparatively speaking a solitude, its inhabitants being numbered by *tens*, rather than as now by *thousands*. And yet, even within what we may almost call modern times—that is to say some two centuries ago—much that is now covered with buildings, or in a state of cultivation, was either wood, or waste and common land.

The names of places still remaining are suggestive of a very

different state of things to what we see now. Thus the name STUDLEY, or as it was formerly written, *Stód-leah,* means the open pasture-land on which horses grazed, from the Anglo-Saxon *stód,* the origin of our words *steed* and *stud* as applied to horses. POLE-BARN, the name given now to a lane just where Trowbridge and Steeple Ashton parishes have their border-line close to the stream, is most probably a corruption of the word *pól-bearo,* not unfrequently met with in charters, which signifies a "woody plot by a stream," or it may be in some cases what we term a "water-meadow." GOOSE-ACRE, if the former part be not a corruption of *gærs* (= grass), or an equivalent to our modern *gorse,* may be derived from the ancient word for "water," which, as we have seen in a previous paper in this Magazine,[1] assumes so many forms and amongst them *Gos* (as in *Gos*-port), and so imply simply the "acre by the *river.*" STAVERTON was originally *Stán-ford-tún,* that is, the village by the "stone" (or paved) "ford."

Trowbridge is said by Camden to be situated on the river Were. Modern authorities and guide books call the river the Biss. It is not often that seemingly conflicting statements are both right, but it really is so to a great extent in the present case. The fact is that there are *two* streams, the one rising near Bratton, which (after flowing through North Bradley), enters the parish at its south-east corner and forms for some three quarters of a mile the parochial boundary;—the other rising somewhere below Southwick, entering the parish at its south western extremity, and forming for some three miles the boundary between Trowbridge and Bradford-on-Avon, on the west. The former of these streams flows through the town, and they unite their waters at Trowle Bridge, a spot not far from what is now called Cock-hill farm. At Lady-Down this stream flows into the Avon.

The former of these streams, including the portion of the river from this point of junction to the Avon, would seem more properly to be called the Biss. A field at Lady-Down is still called "Biss-mouth" meadow, and no less than 850 years ago this part of the

[1] Wilts Arch. Mag., xiv., 168.

river bore the name of "Biss."[1] The latter of these streams, as far as the junction near Cock-hill farm, is called in Andrews' and Dury's map (1773) the "Were." Against this proposed solution of the difficulty, such as it is, may be set the fact that in two maps, each drawn about a century ago, one of which is in the possession of the present Lord of the Manor, the name "Were" is applied to that portion of the stream which flows behind what are still called "the Courts." It would be more correctly, as we think, called the "Biss;" though no doubt at different times both names have been applied to it.

There is in most of us a natural love of "ancient" things; our feeling towards those who lived in times long since passed away is somewhat akin to the reverence we all entertain for age. It is hardly surprising therefore that writers on Trowbridge, especially those connected with it, should seek to establish for their town a greater antiquity than has generally been conceded to it. Hence they have caught at a stray conjecture of Leland, who, after giving us an extract from an ancient record to the effect that Dunwallo Molmutius, the first crowned king of the entire realm of Britain, who lived about B.C. 550, founded three cities with three castles, Cær-Bladon (afterwards called Malmesbury), Lacock, and a place called Tetronburgh, adds concerning the last "*nunc forsan Trouburg in Comitatu Wiltunensi*" (now *perhaps* Trowbridge, in Wiltshire). We may quiet such dreamers with the assurance, that the place alluded to was no doubt Tetbury, in Gloucestershire, and further that most probably, for at least 1600 years after that date, there was nothing approaching either a castle, or a town, at what we now call Trowbridge.

It is indeed a long jump, but nevertheless, till we come to the end of the eleventh century *after* Christ, we can find no trace of the history of this place. And then we find it in that marvellous record —the oldest survey of a kingdom now existing in the world— Domesday Book.

The entries respecting what is now included in the parish of Trowbridge are *three* in number.

[1] Wilts Arch. Mag., v., 19.

The first is respecting what, in the Record, is called STRABURG; a strange form of the name, but nevertheless pretty clearly to be identified with what we now call Trowbridge. It is as follows:—

"BRICTRIC holds STRABURG. His father held it in the time of King Edward and it paid geld for 10 hides. The land is 9 carucates. In demesne are 2 carucates, and 7 serfs. There are 11 villans and 6 coscets with 7 carucates. There is a mill paying 10 shillings, and 10 acres of meadow, and 12 acres of pasture. The wood is 5 furlongs long and 3 furlongs broad. It was worth £4; it is now worth £8." *Wilts Domesday*, p. 131.

The entries for STAVERTON and TROWLE are as follows:—

"BRICTRIC holds STAVRETONE. His father held it in the time of King Edward and it paid geld for 5 hides. The land is 3 carucates. In demesne are 2 carucates and 7 serfs; and there are 2 villans and 2 coscets with 1 carucate. There is a mill paying 20 shillings, and 20 acres of meadow, and 20 acres of pasture. It is worth 70 shillings." *Ibid*, p. 132.

"BRICTRIC holds 1 hide in TROLE. The land is 1 carucate, which is there with 1 villan. It is worth 10 shillings." *Ibid*, p. 131.

It is probable that whilst the tithing of Staverton remains much as it was, the present town of Trowbridge was taken out of one, or it may be partly out of both, of the tithings of Studley and Trowle. The *eleven* hides at which *Straburg* and *Trole* were assessed, and which might fairly be reckoned at some 1450—1500 acres, would correspond remarkably in extent with the 1530 acres in Studley and the Town Liberty.

STAVERTON and TROWLE were held, it will be observed, as tain-land (or thane-land by one BRICTRIC, an English nobleman (or thane) who inherited the same from his father. This takes us back to the days of Edward the Confessor.

Tain-land, I may perhaps explain, comprised originally estates bestowed by the King on military men engaged in the national defence, and it was held subject to the rendering of certain services to the state. It was not liable to many of the *ordinary* imposts; in fact it was held with all immunities, except what was called the *trinoda necessitas*—the three-fold necessity of helping in expeditions, repairing castles, and mending bridges. The tenure was a very honorable one, and the estates so held became practically hereditary, descending from father to son.

BRICTRIC was an English nobleman, who was sent by King Edward

the Confessor as an ambassador to the court of Baldwin, Count of Flanders. The latter had a daughter, Matilda by name, who, it is said, formed a deep and romantic affection for Brictric, and, what was a worse mistake on her part, betrayed herself. Unhappily for her, and as the event turned out, unluckily for Brictric too, our English thane did not reciprocate the tender feelings. Then as chroniclers tell us—though we must be a little careful in believing everything we read—"the hatred wherewith she hated him was greater than the love wherewith she had loved him." And unfortunately she had before very long an opportunity of displaying it.

For in a few years afterwards she married William of Normandy, who in due time became King of England, and so the self-same lady that Brictric politely declined as a wife he was obliged to accept as a Queen. And then (to use Thierry's words) "Matilda herself asked the new King, her husband, to place at her disposal, with all his possessions, the Englishman who had disdained her. She gratified her revenge and cupidity at once, by appropriating the possessions to herself, and causing Brictric to be shut up in a fortress." So no doubt say *some* of the chroniclers, but *literally* true it is not. For example, the Domesday Record is brought down to the year 1087, and at that time Brictric was possessed of these manors; whereas the Queen Matilda died in 1083, four years before. No doubt some of Brictric's estates *were* apportioned to her, and with them she endowed monasteries at Bec in Normandy, and elsewhere. Still there is a grim touch of irony in the entry that we meet with in one part of Domesday Book—"Infra-scriptas terras tenuit Brictric et post Regina Matilda"—that looks as though there were some truth in the tale, and as if it was not by a simple accident that the said manors fell to Matilda's share. It is certain, that though possibly Brictric may have been permitted to enjoy *these* manors of which we are now speaking for life, the estates soon passed away from his family. Though he inherited them from his father, the King or Queen, as the case may have been, and that too probably with no unnecessary legal formalities, promptly cut off the entail.

In A.D. 1100, just thirteen years after the completion of the Domesday Record, Trowbridge (Trobrege) and Staverton are recorded as

being in the possession of Edward of Salisbury, a great Norman noble, who was *Vice Comes,* or Sheriff of Wiltshire, and had no less than 38 manors in this county. How he acquired *this* manor, whether by grant from the crown, or by purchase, I have not been able to ascertain. In a document of the date A.D. 1120—1130 it is enumerated amongst those estates which were of *his own acquisition* in contradistinction to those which he enjoyed by inheritance, and this looks rather as though he had purchased it.

Edward of Salisbury left two children, a son, WALTER OF SALISBURY, who founded the Priory of Bradenstoke and subsequently himself assumed the tonsure and habit of the canons there,—and a daughter, MATILDA, who married Humphrey de Bohun, and with her husband, in the year 1125, founded the Priory of Monkton Farleigh. Through this marriage the Bohun family became possessed of considerable property at Trowbridge and elsewhere in Wilts. The Lordship of the manor however still vested in the family of Edward of Salisbury.[1]

The descent of the manor from that time to the present can be easily traced. The lordship of the manor has been held by not a few distinguished personages. After three or four immediate descendants of Edward of Salisbury, it came to the celebrated ELA, in her own right Countess of Salisbury, the foundress in one day of the abbeys of Lacock and Hinton Charterhouse. By her marriage with William de Longespée, son of King Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford, it came ultimately to Margaret de Longespée, who, by her marriage with Henry Earl of Lincoln, took the manor into her husband's family. Their only daughter Alice Lacy married Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and he became consequently possessed of the manor of Trowbridge. This Earl was beheaded at Pontefract in 1521, and all his honors forfeited. After some temporary grants

[1] We have a similar instance of the Lordship of the Manor being retained in the family of Edward of Salisbury, though much of the property originally appertaining to it was alienated, in the case of "Bishopstrow." The *Church* at Bishopstrow and a hide of land in that village, together with other property, is particularly specified among the gifts of Matilda de Bohun to the Priory of Monkton Farleigh. The *Manor* of Bishopstrow, which was one of those belonging to Edward of Salisbury at the Domesday Survey, descended in the male line to the Countess Ela, and was employed by her in the foundation of the nunnery of Lacock.

A TABLE shewing the Descent of the MANOR OF TROWBRIDGE from the close of the eleventh century to the present time.

N.B.—The Names of those who are known or believed to have held the Lordship of the Manor are printed in large capitals.

EDWARD of SALISBURY
Sheriff of Wiltshire at time of the Domesday Survey.

- WALTER of SALISBURY=Sibilla de Chaworth.
  Founder of Bradenstoke Priory, A.D. 1142.
  - PATRICK, I Earl of Salisbury, d. 1167.
    - WILLIAM, II Earl of Salisbury, Sheriff 1190, d. 1195.
      - ELA, Countess of Salisbury,=WILLIAM DE LONGESPEE, (Son of Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford.)
        Foundress of the Abbeys of Lacock and Hinton Charter-
- MATILDA=HUMPHREY DE BOHUN (called "The Great.")
  Founders of Monkton Farleigh Priory, A.D. 1125.
  - HUMPHREY DE BOHUN III.=Margery, d. of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and Constable of England.
    Defended the Castle of Trowbridge against King Stephen, A.D., 1139.
    - HUMPHREY DE BOHUN IV.
      - Bohuns, Earls of Hereford.

In the year 1809, the Manor of Trowbridge, separated from the advowson to the Rectory, was sold by the then Duke of Rutland to THOMAS TIMBRELL, Esq., of Trowbridge, and from his representatives it was purchased in the year 1851 by WILLIAM STANCOMB, Esq., of Blount's Court, Potterne, the present Lord of the Manor.

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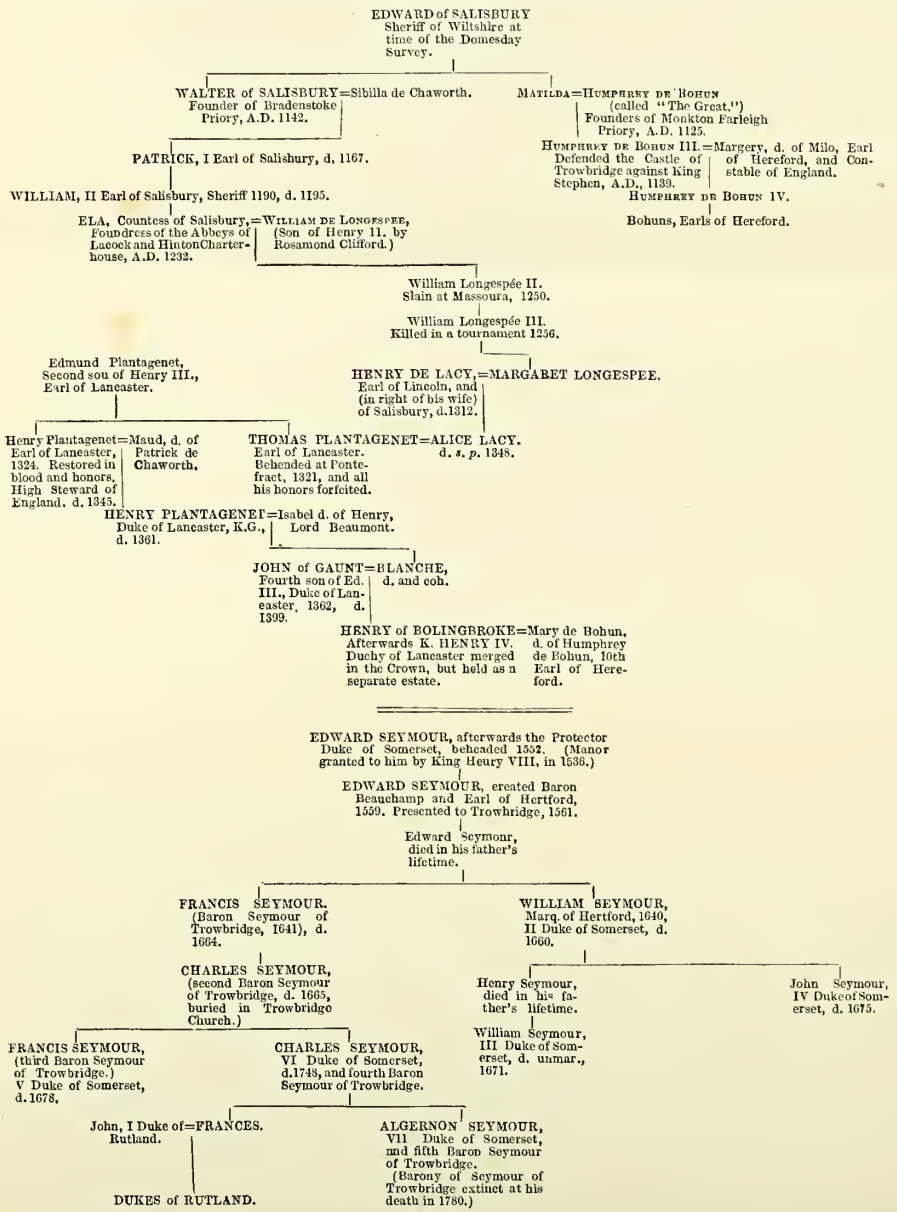

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of the manor, about which I need not trouble you, it descended to no less a personage than John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the friend and protector of Wiclif. His son, Henry of Bolingbroke, succeeded to it, and when he became King Henry IV., the Duchy of Lancaster, to which the manor of Trowbridge then belonged, was merged in the crown.

It is very remarkable that by the marriage of Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry IV., with Mary de Bohun daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, tenth Earl of Hereford, the manor and the estates at Trowbridge, which were severed as early as the commencement of the twelfth century, were again held by one and the same person—in this case King Henry IV.

The Manor remained in the crown as part of the Duchy of Lancaster for some 136 years. It was then granted in 1536 by King Henry VIII. to Edward Seymour, afterwards the Protector Somerset. On his attainder in 1552, it reverted to the Crown for a time, but was soon afterwards granted to his son Edward Seymour, created Earl of Hertford and Baron Beauchamp in 1559. It descended through the Seymour family, one of whom was created Baron Seymour of Trowbridge. In 1748 it came to Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset and fifth Baron Seymour of Trowbridge. He died without male issue in 1750, and his barony became extinct. His sister Frances married John, first Duke of Rutland, and carried the manor into that noble family. In the year 1809, it became by purchase the possession of Thomas Timbrell, Esq., the patronage of the rectory being then severed from it and retained by the Duke of Rutland. The present Lord of the Manor is W. Stancomb, Esq., of Blount's Court, Potterne, who purchased it in June, 1851, from the representatives of Mr. Timbrell.

But we must now return to the Bohun family, who seem to have been the principal owners of property here. They obtained it through the marriage of Humphrey de Bohun (surnamed the Great) with Matilda, daughter of Edward of Salisbury. Amongst the endowments of Monkton Farleigh, which was founded by them, were "*ten shillings* from the church of Trowbridge, and the *tithes* of the lordship of Staverton." It was most probably this nobleman that

built the castle at Trowbridge, for, as it sustained a siege in 1139, the year after his decease, there was no time for his son to have built it. Judging from the few notices that have been left to us of the castle—its "seven great towers," fragments of which were standing when Leland visited Trowbridge in the middle of the sixteenth century and "its impregnable works by which it was fortified"—it must have been a work of time and of expense. In that castle-building age, when each baron thought it needful, if not for his security at least for his dignity, to erect large fortresses surrounded with strong walls and deep moats, nothing would be more probable than that Humphrey de Bohun II. should thus inaugurate his accession to his estates here, through his marriage with the daughter of the richest land-owner in Wilts.

A word or two must be said about the siege of the castle by King Stephen. On the decease of King Henry I. in 1135 in Normandy, there followed an interval of anarchy and confusion. A few years previously, King Henry, being without a son who might inherit his throne, sought to perpetuate the succession in his own family by settling the crown on his daughter Matilda, who had married Henry V., Emperor of Germany, and apparently obtained the consent of the prelates and principal nobility to this arrangement. The crown however was seized by Stephen the late King's nephew. Then ensued civil war; the cause of Matilda being taken up by her half-brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, and Milo Earl of Hereford, and, (through the influence probably of the latter whose daughter he had married) by Humphrey de Bohun. Hence in due time King Stephen appeared before Trowbridge with his forces to batter down the castle of the disaffected baron. But though he could say of Trowbridge, "I came, I saw," he was not able to add, "I conquered," for, after a vain attempt to take it, he had to beat a retreat. The whole account of the siege is given us in the work called "Acta Stephani." The portion which especially relates to the attempt on the castle is as follows:—"Meanwhile the king arriving at Trowbridge, and finding the place carefully fortified, and the garrison prepared for all extremities, nor likely to surrender without a desperate struggle, set to work to construct engines with great toil, that he might press the siege with vigour. But his efforts were

fruitless, for the besieged were neither injured by his machines, nor at all daunted by his blockade, though it was long and strict. The barons therefore who were present at the siege, some wearied out by its being long protracted, and others who were their false and treacherous comrades, united in apprehensions that the Earl of Gloucester would collect all his forces and suddenly attack them. The king therefore consulting his friends, retired to London to rally his strength, and then advance when fortune summoned him to some safer enterprise. He left however in the castle at Devizes, for the annoyance of Trowbridge to which it was near, a chosen and disciplined body of soldiers, and the two parties alternately by their hostile incursions reduced all the neighbouring country to a desolate solitude."[1]

But a question of much interest now arises. Where was the site of the castle? and what was the probable extent and direction of its fortifications?

Leland's brief notes concerning its condition in 1540—42, when he visited the town, imply that it must have been a fortress of considerable strength. He says—"The castelle stoode on the south side of the toune. It is now clene down. Ther was in it a seven gret toures, whereof peaces of two yet stande. The river rennith hard by the castelle." *Wiltshire Magazine*, i., 151. Bodman, who at the time when he wrote (1814) was advancing in years himself, tells us he had known men who remembered having seen fragments of no less than four of the towers standing, about 1660 or 1670.[2] He adds moreover that there were two draw-bridges across the moat which surrounded the castle walls, *one* to the *west*, close by the old bridge which ran some twenty or thirty feet to the southward of the present one, and in a more direct line with Stallard Street; and the *other* towards the *east*, at that break in Fore Street, where there is an entrance into Court Lane. An attempt has been made, by means of enquiry from persons long acquainted with the locality, as well as by personal inspection of the site itself, to form a probable conjecture as to the line of the

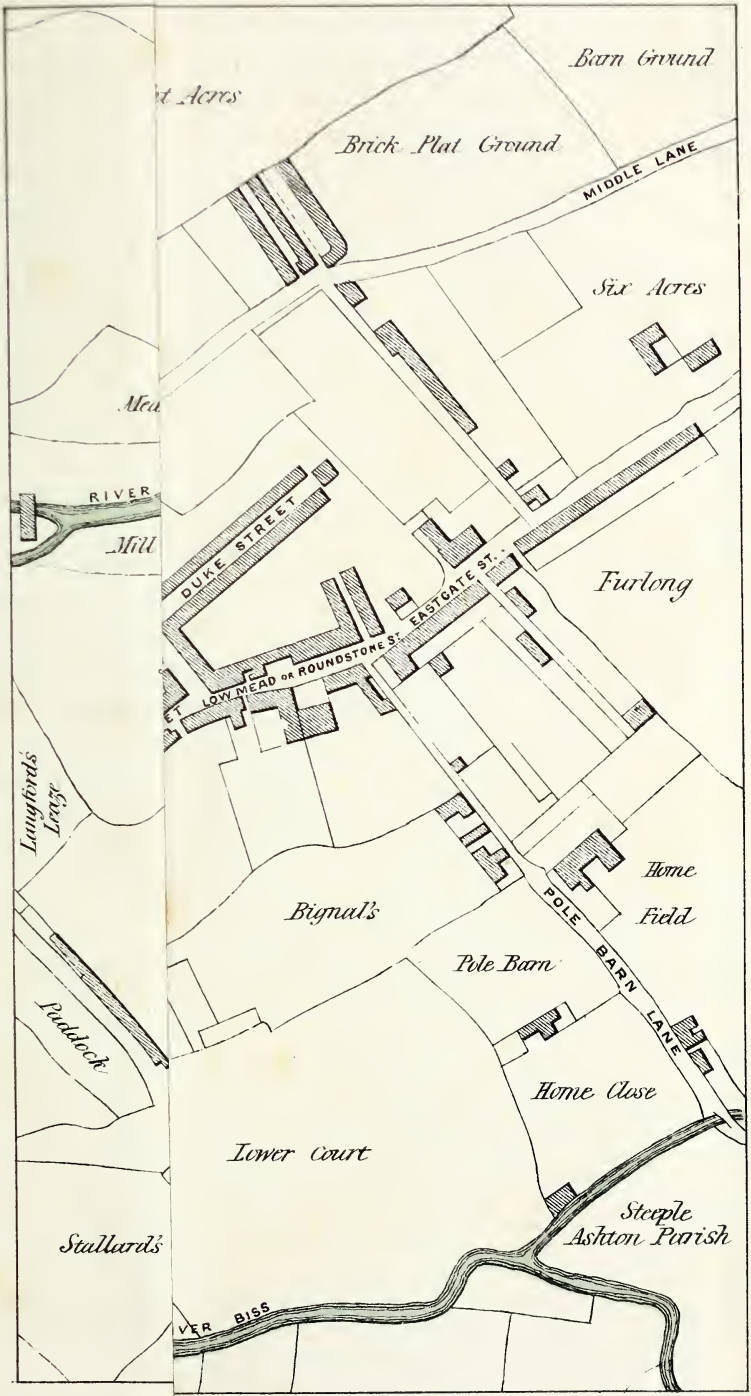
[1] See "Acta Stephani" (Anno 1189).

[2] Aubrey in his "Miscellanies" (p. 14), writing in 1670, speaks of it as "a ruinated castle of the House of Lancaster."

moat which ran round the outer walls of the castle. The river itself protected the castle on the west. The artificial channel seems to have been begun from a point a little below what is now called "The Stone Factory," including within it the water-wheel which tradition still points out as standing on the site of the original castle mill. The moat then extended in an easterly, and slightly curved direction, across what were called, within the memory of persons now living, the "Court Hollows," and skirted at this point "Little Hill," where, in Bodman's time (1814), "the ditch and ramparts were still visible." Thence it was carried, as it seems, across what is now Castle Street, then by the corner of a house now occupied by Mr. Sylvester, until it entered Fore Street (the portion of it, that is, which is now called the Market Place), at the south-west corner of Silver Street. It then followed the line of Fore Street right down to Wicker Hill, where in the middle of the last century the depth of water was some twelve feet or upwards. Bodman tells us, that many persons in his time could remember the water three or four feet deep at that place, and adds that the circumstance of a strong fence of *wicker work* having been placed for security against the sides of the moat at this point was the origin of the name "Wicker Hill." The moat seems to have joined the river again at a point a little to the south of the present bridge. As the line of the castle walls followed that of the moat, a tolerable idea may be formed of the size of this stronghold of the Bohun family and its capability of resisting the efforts of an invading force.

If we except a small portion of an old wall behind a house in Fore Street, which tradition points out as having been a portion of the castle wall, and which certainly is in a position likely enough to warrant such a belief, there is not now a vestige of the castle to be seen. Neither are we able at present to say how or when it was destroyed. We have documentary evidence which seems to imply that it was yet standing in the middle of the fifteenth century, and, as it was in ruins at the time of Leland's visit, it would appear that the date of its demolition would have been between 1460 and 1540.

Twice within the present century some portions of the old walls and buttresses have been discovered during the the progress of



Plan of t[illegible]able line of the walls of the Ancient Castle.

Plan of the Town of Trowbridge at the close of the last Century, showing the probable line of the walls of the Ancient Castle.

excavations. Some sixty years ago, a part of the Castle Hill was opened, with the hope, it is said, of discovering treasures supposed to have been deposited there. In 1814, Mr. Salter, in digging up the ground for the foundation of the factory now occupied by Mr. Gouldsmith, came upon a portion of the castle walls. In both cases it was found that the cement, which had been used as mortar, had become, in the course of centuries, harder than the stone itself, and that the labour and consequent expense of removing the materials, was more than it was judged prudent to incur.

The whole site of the castle is now covered with factories, or dwelling-houses. Where mailed barons and their retainers once proudly walked, within the seclusion of their impregnable fortress, now thousands of busy artizans ply their daily tasks. And who shall regret the change? So natural is our love of "ancient things," so lovingly do we cling to the traditions of by-gone generations, that we can hardly be strangers to a passing wish that those days of chivalry should recur, and that we might see the castle in its palmy greatness. And yet who shall doubt that the real happiness and prosperity of our country, is, under the blessing of God, far more promoted by the energetic development of its resources at home and the peaceful extension of its commerce abroad?

One lesson indeed we may learn alike from "castle" or "factory." The former is a thing of the past; vast and impregnable as it was, it has altogether disappeared. How true an emblem of the vanity of all human greatness! In the latter, is ever heard the ceaseless "click" of the "weaver's shuttle," and what more faithful monitor can there be that life is far too short, too uncertain, to allow us safely to engross our cares in the pursuit of earthly riches!

But though Trowbridge had its Castle, you must not imagine that in these early days it was anything but a small and unimportant place. Before the erection of the castle there was simply a village here—the town grew up round the castle. This seem evident enough since the principal street forms a curve, for which there cannot be a more likely solution than that in its original construction it followed the line of the walls round the castle. That it was but an insignificant town, even fifty years after the time of which I have been

speaking, seems evident from the following facts. It is not mentioned among the towns in Wiltshire on which rates were levied in 1168 (14 Henry II.) "to marry the king's daughter" to the Duke of Saxony—(from which union, by the way, is lineally descended the present Royal Family of England)—nor among those from which "aid" was taken in 1187 (33 Hen. II.), by the King's Justices. The towns mentioned as contributing to the former subsidy are Chippenham, Melksham, Calne, Malmesbury, Wilton, Salisbury, and Heytesbury;—in the latter case, we have, in addition to those already named (and with the exception of Heytesbury), Marlborough, Combe, Devizes, Bedwin, and West Combe.[1]

Before we quite leave the subject of the castle at Trowbridge, I may mention that, early in the reign of Henry VI., a claim was made by William Rous, who was Chamberlain to that King, in virtue of the manor of Imber, to the Constableship of Trowbridge Castle. Thus in a manuscript now lost, but of which we have fortunately a few extracts preserved, we are told, "In the fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. a dispute arose concerning the constableship of Trowbridge Castle between the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester, Cardinal of England, and others, feoffees to the Duke of Lancaster, of which Duchy Trowbridge was parcel. Rous, Lord of Chaldfield, claimed the same office as appurtenant to his manor, and was supported by the Duke of Gloucester who brought his servants and foresters from Pewsham and Blackmore forests and defended Rous' possessions at Chaldfield, and the office of constable. The said Duke and Rous went with a great retinue to the parliament at Lincoln, with which the Cardinal was much offended. At length Rous was forced to quit the office, and others placed therein by the Duke of Lancaster; and though Rous, and after him Trapnell, sued and made great interest for the office, they could never obtain it, notwithstanding they deemed it their inheritance."[2]

It would appear, that Cardinal Beaufort (Bishop of Winchester),

[1] Madox, History of the Exchequer, i., 588, 634.

[2] The whole extract is given in Walker's account of the "Manor House and Church at Great Chalfield," p. 4.

who was the son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, was at one time the principal acting feoffee for the management of the affairs of the manor.[1] The courts of the manor were, I presume, held in these early days within the precincts of the castle, and near about what are now called "the Courts." There still remains, as it seems to me, a not uninteresting tradition of the Cardinal's rule here—a small inn situated in the Courts still bears the sign of "The Red Hat."

To return now a little to the direct course of our narrative, we find that, though our records are scanty and sources of information few, we have ample proof to show the growing importance of the manor itself during this period. Numerous, as we sh all presently see, were the lands held "under the manor of Trowbridge." No doubt one of the earliest works of this century was the erection of a Church for the use of the retainers of the castle, and those who now began to form and inhabit the town that grew up around it. Where this, the original parish church of Trowbridge, stood, is now matter only of conjecture. Tradition points out as its site, a spot till recently called "Parsonage Corner," close by the present entrance gates of the Rectory House. Evidences of all the contiguous ground having been at one time used for purposes of interment have not been wanting. During the restoration of the present church, a few years ago, some fragments of shafts, capitals, and the like, were found imbedded in the walls of the chancel, and are still preserved, and these, judging from their mouldings and general appearance, would seem to have been portions of a church of Early English date and character, erected probably towards the end of the twelfth or the commencement of the thirteenth century. It was certainly built previously to the foundation of Lacock Abbey in 1229, for the charter by which the Countess Ela endowed that religious house was witnessed, amongst others, by "Sir Peter, Parson of Trowbridge" *(domino Petro persona de Treubrigge)*.[2]

[1] It may just be mentioned that there seems at one time to have been a *mêsne*, or subordinate, manor within the manor of Trowbridge, called the manor of Trowbridge Dauntsey. Thus in Jones' Index to the Records we have this entry: "The Queen's hands to be removed from the Manor of Trowbridge Dantesey in Wilts: to be delivered to Thomasine Dantesey." Pasch. Record, 10 Eliz., Roll 4.

[2] See Bowles's Lacock, Appendix, p 10.

Of any church or chapel at STAVERTON in these early days we have no record. The fact, however, to which we have alluded, of the tithes of Staverton having been granted to the Priory of Monkton Farleigh, may possibly imply, that, in return for such a gift, the spiritual charge of this portion of the parish was undertaken by some member of that religious house. We know that at a very early period it became the custom for patrons of churches, with the consent of the Bishop, to confer them in perpetuity upon some monastic establishment, the duties of the rural parish being in such a case performed by a monk of the convent, or by a vicar depending upon it. This may have been the case originally with Staverton, though, from the absence of any authentic documentary information, we are not able to speak of such an arrangement as other than possible.

We have, in the record commonly called "Pope Nicholas' Taxation," an account of the value of the rectory of Trowbridge at the close of the thirteenth century. The possessors of the see of Rome claimed to be entitled, by virtue of their ecclesiastical supremacy, to various payments out of all ecclesiastical benefices and possessions in aid of the maintenance of their dignity, and even assumed a right to dispose of such revenues, or any part of them, in such manner as they judged most advantageous for the welfare of the Church. On the latter pretence, in the year 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. granted to Edward I. the tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices for six years, on the plea set forth by that King, that he was about to undertake a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. Hence the necessity of the record alluded to, which, though it contains little more than a mere valuation of the various benefices, is interesting as giving some idea of their relative value and importance in the thirteenth century. The extracts relating to this and the surrounding parishes are brief and we therefore give a translation of them. In the names of places we of course preserve the spelling as we find it in the record itself.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rectory of Troubrygg *	8	0	0
Portion of the Prior of Farle in the same	1	0	0

* Mr. Hallam considers "any given sum under Henry III. and Edward I. as equivalent in general command over commodities to about *twenty-four* or *twenty-five* times its nominal value at present." It will be easy therefore, at this reckoning, to estimate what we should call the *real value* of the various livings.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rectory of Edyngton with the Chapel of Bradeleye ..	33	6	8
Vicarage of the same	6	13	4
Rectory of Paulesholte [*Poulshot*]	10	0	0
Pension of the Bishop of Sarum in the same	1	0	0
Rectory, of Hulprygtone [*Hilperton*]	5	0	0
Rectory of Brogtone [*Broughton Gifford*]	10	0	0
Rectory of Farle [*Monkton Farleigh*]	5	0	0
Rectory of Bradford with its Chapelries	46	13	4
Vicarage of same	5	0	0
Portion of the Abbess of St. Edward (at Shaftesbury) in the same	6	13	4

Of lands held under the Lords of the Manor of Trowbridge, or under the various owners of the castle, during this century, we have a tolerably long list given us in a record called "Testa de Nevil," in which is contained an enumeration of the principal land-holders throughout the kingdom in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., and an account also of the tenures by which they held their estates. The following are the chief lands named as having been held, as it is expressed, of the "Honor of Trobrygg, under the Earl of Sarum, under the king."

In Hartham, one fifth of a Knight's Fee, by Richard de Cumb'vill [*Cumberwell*].

In Luckington, one Knight's Fee, by Reginald de Sumerford.

In Widecumb, [near Hilmarton], one Knight's Fee, by William Bighorn.

In Littlecote [near Hilmarton], one Knight's Fee, by Robert Mauduit.

In Waddon, half a Knight's fee, by Henry de Waddon.

In Hulprinton [Hilperton], half a Knight's Fee, by Humphrey de Escovill.

In Little Brocton [Monkton], one Knight's Fee, by the Prior of Farley.

In Chaldefelde, one Knight's Fee, by Henry de Percy.

In Punbir' [*Pomeroy* near Winfield], one fifth of a Knight's Fee by William de Waspre.*

In Lusteshill [near Highworth], one and a half Knight's Fee, by Nicholas de Lusteshill.

The following lands are amongst those which are said to have been held under the "Earl of Hereford under the King as of the Honor of Trowbrygg."

In Edington, [near Calne,] one fortieth of a Knight's Fee by Roger de Cantelupe.

In the same, one twenty-third of a Knight's Fee, by John de Ripariis [Rivers].

* This is a name not unknown in this neighbourhood. "John de Waspre" is spoken of as patron in the year, 1299, of the "Chapel of Westwode in the parish of Bradforde." See "Wilts Institut.," under the year, 1299.

In Tydolfeshide [Tilshead], one tenth of a Knight's Fee, by Walter de Bointon.
In Sumerford, one Knight's Fee, by Reginald Fitz-William.
In the same, one tenth of a Knight's Fee by John Walrond.
In Swallowcliff, one half of a Knight's Fee by James de Lie.
In Tockenham, one half of a Knight's Fee by Walter de Bointon.
In Britford, one half of a Knight's Fee by Henry le Dun.
In Trole, one half of a Knight's Fee by Richard Walwain.

The last entry on this list is the only one on which a remark need be made. It is an interesting one, because it enables us to trace the land, which it evidently alludes to, for a period of some seven hundred years, the name of the owner being still retained at the commencement of the present century. In the Domesday Survey, as we have seen in a previous page, Staverton and Trole were both held by Brictric. Very many of the lands possessed by Brictric came afterwards into the possession of the Bohun family. Amongst them were Coulston, Swallowcliffe, Farley [Monkton], Oaksey, and Trole. For a century and a half after the date of the entry above given from the "Testa de Nevil," we find in various deeds the name "*Walwayn*" as connected with Trowle. In 1425, William Besyle granted to Roger Trewbody, "*lands lately Richard Walwayne's in Trole.*" About 1450 the two daughters and co-heiresses of William Besil, of Bradford, married respectively Nicholas Hall and Thomas Rogers. The property at Little Trowle seems (as we may fairly conclude) by the former of these marriages, to have come to the "Hall" family, in whose hands it continued for two hundred and fifty years. Pursuant to the will of John Hall, of Bradford-on-Avon, the last of his family, it passed on his death in 1711, to Rachel Baynton, who was married to William Pierrepont, Esq., commonly called Lord Kingston. From the last Duke of Kingston, who died in 1773, it passed to his sister's son, Charles Meadows, who assumed by sign-manual the surname and arms of Pierrepont, and was created Earl Manvers in 1806. His son, the present Earl Manvers, is now the possessor of Little Trowle. Bodman tells us that, when he wrote (1813), the house standing on the farm was still called "*Walwaynard's* Court."

No records, either public or private, have as yet come to light from which we are able to glean any information worth speaking

of concerning Trowbridge itself during the thirteenth century. All that we can learn from the few and scanty notices that we do meet with, are, so to speak, mere glimpses of its history. Thus much however we can infer from them, that by the close of this period a town had been formed here; that there was some form of local government, the bailiff of the manor acting, in the place of the lord, as a sort of chief magistrate; and further, that the bailiff of the Hundred of Melksham exercised jurisdiction over Trowbridge. Thus in the Hundred Rolls we find the following entries under date of 3 Edward I. (1275) :—

"William Seliman and the Bailiff of the Hundred of Melksham, levied of Walter de Molendino [of the Mill] of Trobrigg half a mark, and the same was paid to the Sheriff of Wilts."

"The Jury say that Walter le Mareschal and others by writ of Henry de Nuny of Trobrigg went into the liberty of Werminster, and seized forty-five beasts belonging to John Mauduit, and carried by them by night in violation of the peace to Trobrigg, and detained them fifteen days."

The latter extract shews us at least that some "brawls" did occur at Trowbridge, small in extent as the town then was, in the thirteenth century, and that it was necessary even then that its denizens should be occasionally "bound over to keep the peace."

It was no doubt during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the foundation was laid of the wool trade to which Trowbridge has owed its prosperity. I cannot tell by whom the art of weaving was introduced into this town. But judging from the works completed in this place and neighbourhood by those who drew their wealth from this source, there must have been Merchants of the Staple here from the middle of the fourteenth century. It was in 1331 that King Edward III. granted protection to John Kemp—the name is still known in Trowbridge—who came from Flanders to settle in England, and who is described as "Textor pannorum laneorum," a weaver of woollen cloths, and promised like protection to fullers and dyers who might come to England from those parts. The document is printed in Rymer's Fœdera, iv., 4961, and is a most interesting one, as by it the real foundation was laid of the woollen manufacture in England.

Most certainly there were about the middle of the fifteenth century

well-to-do merchants and others here who were not only able but willing to make sacrifices for building the present beautiful parish church. There is in the parish chest an original deed which has been printed in a previous number of this Magazine,[1] executed by James Terumber, dated 1483, in which he founds a chantry in the parish church, then "*newly bielded,*" and directs special prayers to be offered for the souls of those who had been the principal benefactors. Amongst these are Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Richard Beauchamp, Sir Roger Tocotes, Maister John Stokes, Parson of Trowbridge, Henry Longe and Margaret and Johanne his wives, John Dauntsey, Thomas Halle and Agnes his wife. We recognize some of these names as those of benefactors of other churches, notably perhaps of Steeple Ashton and Bradford-on-Avon.

And here we pause in an account of the early annals of Trowbridge. To go further would bring us to modern times, and overstep the limits proposed for the present paper. In concluding it we place before our readers two documents of some little interest, the *one* a copy of a terrier relating to the lands, &c., appertaining to the Rectory of Trowbridge in the year 1671, copied from the original in the registry of the Bishop of Sarum, and *the other* a list from earliest times to the present of the Rectors of Trowbridge, and of those who from time to time have been the Patrons of the Living.

The TERRIER is as follows:—

"A true and perfect Terrear of all the Houseing, Glebe Lands, Comons, Tythes, Offerings & other customary Dues belonging to the Rectory of Trowbridge in the diocese of Sarum taken by the Churchwardens of the said parish on ye 25th daye of November A.D. 1671.

In Trowbridge Studley and Trowle Parva. } Imprimis the Chancell of the Mother Church of Trowbridge which is to be kept in repair by the Rector of Trowbridge.

Houseing. The Parsonage House with the Gardens and Orchards thereto belonging. A Cottage and Garden thereto adjoining now in the possesson of Robert Lansdown.

One Tiled Barn with a stall at the end of it, a Dove house and Pigsty adjoining.

One Thatch't Barne with a Stable at the end of it,—Another Pigsty and an Henhouse.

[1] Wilts Magazine, ix., 282.

A Cottage and garden now in the occupation of Edward Veale another Garden adjoyning now in the occupation of Margery Borde, Wid:, and another Garden adjoyning now in the occupation of William Martin, all lying in a Lane called Adcroft Lane conteyning half an acre.

Covered with Houses.

Glebe Lands. The Churchyard, the Bounds whereof are to be maintained by the Inhabitants whose House and Outlets joyne to it and the two Gates at the entrances into it by the Parish.

The 3 Home Closes of Meadow or pasture conteining by estimation nine acres.

Covered with Houses. A Paddock near them called ye Conygere Paddock conteining near halfe an acre

The Adcrofts fower Grounds of Meadow or Pasture conteyning by estimation Sixteen acres.

The Downe Lease (lately enclosed) conteining by measure besides the Bounds) Fourteen acres wch were lately taken in exchange for a certain Comon of Pasture (belonging to the said Rectory) for 18 Beasts and a Bull in the Downe of Trowbridge from Whitsun-eve to Michaelmas yearely. Ten acres and a half of arable land lying dispersed in the East field wth Meadowplatts at ye ends of several of them. A Close at the further end of the West Field (neare the Lands of Edward Flower) called Budlease, conteining 3 or 4 acres.

The West Meade newly enclosed out of the Meads Platt in the West Field conteining by estimacion 3 Acres.

Comon. Comon of Pasture w^thout^ stint in ye Comon Fields of Trowbridge and in ye Comons of Pasture called Ashton and Drienham Comons & all other Comons of Vicenage to this Parish.

Tythes of Hay. The Tenth Cock of all Hay w^thin^ the s^d^. Parish except in two little meads lying between Trowle Bridge and Ham Meade, one whereof belongeth to ye Farm of Trowbridge (and lately to the estate of Henry Willett), the other to the Estate of John Rogers. The Tythe of which two meades is by a certain p^r^scription paid out of a part of ye meadow belonging to Rogers wch part ye Rector of Trowbridge is to mow and carry away in lieu of the Tythes of those 2 meadows.

Corn. The 10th Sheffe of all Wheate, Beans, and wh^t^soever Corn is sheafed and ye 10th Cock of all Barley, Oats, Pease, Vatches, and all other Grain

Cow White.* For the Cow White of every Cow Somerfed w^thin^ the s^d^ Parish, or by any Parishioner, in ye Comons belonging to it, Fower pence to be paid at Michaelmas

Sheepe. For all Sheepe kept w^thin^ the s^d^ Parish till Sheering time, the Tenth Fleece of Wool and if less than Ten fleeces the

* The latter portion of this word is possibly the Anglo-Saxon *wite*, one meaning of which was a "fine" or payment (*mulcta*), so that the whole word corresponds with the Latin *vaccagium*, which Ducange explains as a tribute, or payment, from cows.

tenth pound of weight, or if sold off before their time for each Sheepe a Farthing for every moneth they have been kept in the s[d] Parish, and so for all Sheepe taken in as joystments to be paid at s[d] Lady day.

Lambs. The Tenth of all Lambs fallen w[th]in y[e] s[d] Parish to be paid on S[t] Markes day

Calves. The Tenth of all Calves fallen in y[e] s[d] Parish to be p[d] at Whitsuntide, and in case they be fewer than Ten for every calfe sold the tenth of the money they were sold for, if killed by the owner a shoulder of the calfe, otherwise it is in the choice of the s[d] Rector to reckon the Calves of two or more years together and so take his Tenth (which they call driveing) and the same also in Lambs and Piggs.

Young Beasts. If Calves are weaned and kept by the owner till they come to be milkt or yokt, no Tythe is to be paid for their feeding in the mean while, but if they be sold before they come to be milkt or yokt the tenth of the Money which they are sold for is to be paid to the Rector.

Unprofitable Cattle. For every Ground fed with unprofitable Cattle, such as Grasing Beasts, Horses &c. the Tenth of the Rent or Yearly Value of y[e] Ground is to be paid in lieu of Tythe, or if such unprofitable Cattle be put into a Ground with other that pay Tythe (as above s[d]) The Tenth penny of which y[e] weekly feeding of such Cattle is worth, only every man that pays Tythe is allowed the keeping of his Market Horse Tythe free and for the Cattle that plow the Land no Tythe is to be paid, (that is to say) for Cattle that are kept only for that use. But those that are kept for Carriage on the Roade are reckon'd as unprofitable Cattle.

After Feeding. If a ground that is mowed be after let to another person, the later occupant is to pay for the Tythe of the after feeding of it according to the above mentioned Customes

Piggs, &c., The Tenth or the Seaventh of Piggs. The Tythe of Apples, Peares and other fruit, and of Geese and Turkies. For every Hen an Egge, and for every Cock two to be paid at Easter.

Offerings. The Easter offering of every communicant w[th]in y[e] said Parish two pence, for every Garden of Herbs a penny to be paid at Easter; of large Gardens, as of Pease, Beans, or nurseries of Fruit Trees, to be paid in kind.

Customary Dues. For the two mills of Trowbridge Ten Shillings per annum to be paid at Easter.

For every Parishioner married (either w[th]in or w[th]out y[e] s[d] Parish) by a License five shillings, by banns published a shilling, for every woman at the time of her Churching Fourpence at least, for the breaking of y[e] Ground for any buried in the Chancell Ten Shillings, For every Funeral Sermon Ten Shillings at least and the Mourning pulpit Cloth

if any. For every back door wch opens into ye Church Yard (heretofore granted upon sufferance to some neighbouring Inhabitants) Sixpence per Ann^m^.

In Staffordton the Tythe of the Demeasnes.

The Tythes of an Hamlet w^th^in the s^d^ Parish called Staffordton are paid by an Ancient Composition or Custome thereupon viz.—As for the Demeasnes, the Greater Tythes thereof are not paid to the Rectors of Trowbridge, and for the lesser Tythes the Customary payment to the said Rector is One Pound Thirteen shillings and Fower pence per ann^m^, to be paid at 4 payments Quarterly. For the tenements at the Rate of Thirteen shillings and Fower pence per an^m^. Out of every Halfe Yard Land, and out of every Mundays hold (which is ye 4th part of a yard land) Six shillings and eight pence p^r^ an^m^. All which are to be paid at 4 payments Quarterly. There are of these twenty and fower half yard Lands, and 3 Mundays hold,* so ye totall yearly summe payable for these is Seaventeen pounds.

The Mylls.

For the Mills at Staffordton by a stated Composition Nine Shillings per ann^m^ to be paid at Easter.

Chappell Yard.

By said Composition or Custome, the Herbage or Feeding of ye Chappell yard at Staffordton belongs to the Rectors of Trowbridge. The Bounds of it are to be made good by the owners of the Demeasnes, and others whose lands bound upon ye s^d^ Chappell yard.

Portion of Tythes in Ashton Parish.

On the North West side of Ashton Common (called Hawegrove) there are six Grounds commonly knowne by the names of Polebarne Grounds and Singers Grounds, now in the possession of Joseph Holton, James Singer, and Eleanor Singer, Wid:, or their assigns, and on the South West Side of the s^d^ Comon Eight Grounds more commonly call'd Footpath Grounds, Blackball Grounds, and Arnolds Meades, now in the possession of the said Joseph Holton William Slade, Robert Beach Senr, Harry Wallis, and William Yerbury, or their Assigns, all which lands are situate in the parish of Ashton, but by a certain Custom or Prescription the Tythes of them have always (beyond any known memory to the Contrary) beene paid to ye Rectors of Trowbridge who have alwaies paid to ye Vicar of Ashton in lieu of ye s^d^ Portion of Tythes ye yearly Rent of Fower Shillings. Now this Portion of Tythes so paid to the Rectors of Trowbridge being lately questioned and challenged by ye Vicar of Ashton, the Rector of Trowbridge made it

* The expression "*Mondaies-thing*," which is evidently the same as a "*Mondays-hold*" occurs frequently in the Court Rolls of Castle Combe. See Scrope's Castle Combe, pp. 335, 336. In the same book (p. 146) also we read of *Monday-men*, the tenants of such holdings. There can be little doubt that the expressions we so frequently meet with in the Shaftesbury Chartulary, in reference to small holdings at Holt and elsewhere in this neigbourhood, and also in the Glastonbury Register (just brought to light by Canon Jackson) of tenements held by the obligation of personal service to the lord every Monday, "*qualibet die Lunæ*," are the real explanation of this term.

appear to ye said Bp of this Diocese and to ye s^d^ Vicar of Ashton, that he the s^d^ Rector could prove ye s^d^ custom or prescription by several witnesses (occupants of ye s^d^ Grounds) for more than Fifty years last past, whereupon the s^d^ Vicar desisted from any farther claim to the s^d^ Portion of Tythes wch have since been paid (as formerly they were) to the s^d^ Rector of Trowbridge without any denial or contradiction, and the s^d^ Rent of Fower shillings hath been yearly paid and accepted by ye s^d^ Vicar of Ashton in lieu of the s^d^ Portion of Tythes which of right belongeth to ye s^d^ Rectors of Trowbridge.

Ro: Hawkins, Rector of Trowbridge.
Robert Witchell, } Churchwardens."
Edward Martyn, }

The following list of Rectors of Trowbridge has been compiled for the most part from Sir Thomas Phillips' edition of the Wilts Institutions. In one or two instances omissions have been supplied from other sources.

A.D.	Patron.	Incumbent.
1229	Ela, Countess of Salisbury.	Peter. Among the witnesses to the foundation charter of Lacock Abbey (1229) is "Peter, Parson of Treubrigge." Bowles' Lacock append. p. x.
1313	Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, in right of his wife Alice, daughter of Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln, and Margaret Longespée in her own right Countess of Salisbury.	Nicholas de Sheppeye; resigned 1320.
1320	John Plantagenet or De Warren, Earl of Surrey.[1]	Richard de Wamberg; resigned 1321.
1321	The same.	Henry de Morley.
1322	The same.	William de Swyndon.
1322	Alice de Lacy, Countess of Salisbury and Lincoln.	William de Appleby.

[1] John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, married Alice Lacy, who was divorced from her first husband, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster; and in right of his wife presented to the living of Trowbridge.

A.D.	Patron.	Incumbent.
1347	The King, for the heirs of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey.	Richard de la Hyde.
1347	Joan de Barr, Countess of Surrey.[1]	*Philip Pypard de Cleve.* This seems to have been a disputed presentation. The former succeeded to the living.
.....?		Gerard de la Mote.
1362	William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.[2]	Thomas de Alston.
.....		Peter de Barton.[3]
1376	John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.	Hugh Hall (or) Atte Hall; said to have been Prebendary of Leckford, in the Diocese of Winton, and to have exchanged with his predecessor.
1377	The same.	Walter Halle.
1383	The same.	William Pregeet.
1406	The King, in right of the Duchy of Lancaster, now merged in the Crown.	Thomas Rayly.
1407	The same.	John Kaynell.
.....?		John Horton.
1441	Feoffees of the Duchy of Lancaster.	John Caryter (=Carter?); resigned 1443.
1443	The same.	Thomas Janyns (=Jennings?).

[1] Joan de Barr was the daughter of Henry, Earl of Barr, and granddaughter of Henry III. by his daughter Eleanor. She was the first wife of John de Warren, Earl of Surrey. Her husband was divorced from her, and excommunicated by the Bishop of Chichester for his conjugal infidelity, in 1317. It would appear that after his death she claimed, but without success, to exercise the right, which belonged to him through his *second* marriage, of presenting to the living of Trowbridge.

[2] Among the first acts of Edward III. was the granting, in reversion, the Castle and Manor of Trowbridge to William, Earl of Salisbury, which "John Earl of Surrey and Joan his wife held for the term of their lives." Subsequently however Alice Lacy, then the wife of Ebulo le Strange, obtained a restitution of the Manor, which had originally belonged to her, and it afterwards descended to her first husband's representatives.

[3] The appointment of this Rector is implied in the subsequent entry concerning his successor. The Bishop's registers are wanting from 1366 to 1375.

A.D.	Patron.	Incumbent.
1456	The King, in right of the Duchy of Lancaster.	John Arundel; resigned 1458. Prebendary of Axford in the cathedral at Salisbury 8 Feb., 1456.
1458	The same.	John Kybow.
.....?		John Stokys (=Stokes); mentioned in the Terumber deed, *supra*, p. 226. He seems to have resigned in 1492.
1492	The same.	John Thomas.
1528	The same.	Thomas Moleyns; alluded to by Leland as a "man well lernid." W. Mag., i., 151. Died Nov. 1558, buried at Trowbridge. The Register of the same year, forDecember, records the burial of John Rundell, "a Priest."
.....?		John Langlond (deprived? 1561)
1561	Edward Seymour, Baron Beauchamp and Earl of Hertford.	Thomas Webbe[1]; died June, 1595, buried at Trowbridge.
1595	Edward, Earl of Hertford.	John Pelling[2]; Rector of Bath, 1607—1620. See his monumental inscription in Rawlinson's Antiq. of Bath Abbey, p. 237. Much concerning the Pelling family will be found in Nichols' Topog. et Genealog. See also Dingley's History from Marble (Camden Society), plate xvii.

[1] During Thomas Webbe's incumbency we meet with these entries in the burial registers:—

"1584. Mistris Joane Longe, Widow, a woman of greate devocione."
"1587. Mr. Richard Dynes, Mynister and Preacher."

[2] Early in his incumbency we have this entry in the marriage registers, "1597. April 3. Mr. Henry Hide and Mistris Marie Langeforde married." The son by this marriage was Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, whose daughter, Ann Hyde, became the wife of James, Duke of York (afterwards James II.), and the mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne.

A.D.	Patron.	Incumbent.
1622	William, Earl of Hertford.	Thomas Pelling[1]; inducted Nov. 25, 1622.
1664	Charles, Baron Seymour of Trowbridge.	Robert Hawkins[2] B.D.; instituted Feb. 17, 1664. Prebendary of Warminster, in the cathedral at Salisbury.
1672	Lady Elizabeth Seymour and others.	Robert Keylway.[3]

[1] Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (No. 4115, fol. 4) is one entitled, "A prophecy of St. Thomas the Martyr found in the study of one Mr. Pelling late Rector of Trowbridge in the county of Wilts in a very ancient MS."

[2] In the time of this Rector (1669) Bishop Seth Ward instituted an enquiry as to the "Conventicles in Sarum Diocese." The extracts from the MS. (Lambeth Library, No. 639), containing the information relating to Trowbridge, are as follows:—

Parish or Place.	Sects.	Numbers and Quality.	Principals and Abbettors.	Preachers or Teachers.
Trowbridge At Edw. Grant's Clothier.	Anabaptists.	140 or 150	Tradesmen Abettors. Grant, Mortimer, Witchell } Clothiers	One King, a stranger, and James Taylor shearman.
At the house of Robert Jeames.	Presbyterians	20 or 30	Tradesmen or Yeomen.	Edward Davis, mercer.
At the Widow Davis's house.	Presbyterians	Scarce 20	Of like quality.	The same.
At the house of James Matravers *excomm.*	Quakers.	30 or 40	do.	Itinerant Quakers.

[3] In the year 1676, during this Rector's time, Bishop Seth Ward undertook an enquiry as to the "Popish Recusants" in this diocese. The result is contained in a MS. in the Lambeth Library (No. 639). The report concerning Trowbridge, which is of some interest as showing the population just 200 years ago, is as follows:—

Parish.	Minister.	Popish Recusants.	Separatists.	Inhabitants.
Trowbridge.	Rob[t] Keylway	None.	174	937

A.D.	Patron.	Incumbent.
1717	Charles, Duke of Somerset.	William Gregg.
1726	The same.	Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Bangor, 1743, Archbishop of York, 1747, Canterbury, 1757.
1730	The same.	George Hussey.
1741	The same.	Ramsden Dodsworth.
1763	Marquis of Granby and others.	Charles Cooper; resigned 1774.
1774	The same.	John Ekins; Rector of Newton Tony, and Dean of Salisbury: previously Vicar of Stanton Berners.
1809	Heneage, Earl of Aylesford for this turn.	Gilbert Beresford; afterwards Rector of St. Andrew, Holborn.
1814	Duke of Rutland.	George Crabbe; "the Poet," author of "Tales of the Hall" and other poems.
1832	The same.	Francis Fulford; afterwards Bishop of Montreal, and Metropolitan of Canada.
1841	The same.	John David Hastings; Prebendary of North Grantham, in the cathedral of Salisbury.
1869	Church Patronage Society.	Horace Meyer; previously Rector of East Tisted, Hants.

I will only add that a chapel at the east end of the south aisle in the parish church of Trowbridge, now commonly called the Duke's Chapel, is held to be appurtenant to the lordship of the manor by prescriptive right. The present Lord of the Manor, William Stancomb, Esq., of Blount's Court, Potterne, has within the last few days—whilst in fact these sheets are passing through the press—generously offered to surrender all his interest, either real or presumed, in this chapel, and to give it to the Rector and Churchwardens to be held by them for the general benefit of the parishioners.

Bradford-on-Avon,
May, 1875.

Records of the Rising in the West.

Some Notes and Corrections of the "*Records of the Rising in the West, A.D.* 1655," by W. W. Ravenhill, Esq.:—

In the twelfth line of p. 120, vol. xiii., *for* "postscript" *read* "preface."

In the eighteenth line of p. 123, vol. xiii., after £1500, add a Note: "In the Catalogue of Nobles, &c., who have compounded for their estates, published London, 1655, and reprinted 1733, mention is made of Sir John Penruddock, of Compton Chamberlayne, having compounded for £490, and John Penruddock, of the same place, Esq., for £66 10*s*."

In the first line of p. 124, the parenthesis should contain "September 3rd," only. The anniversary of the battle of Worcester, 1651, and afterwards of His Highness's death.

In Note 1, "No mention is made of written articles." Compare the petition given vol. xiv., p. 89, which had not then come into my hands. However, Crook had no power to grant articles.

In the twenty-ninth line of p. 132, "Lady Nicholas." On re-perusal of MS. I think this should be "Judg Nicholas." Fellow-Wiltshiremen!

In the Note, p. 149, Sir John Awdry suggests "Barum," the old name for Barnstaple—and this is the probable reading.

In the last line of p. 161, place a Note after Oxford: "Hart Hall was, I am assured, never part of New College, but of Magdalen Hall, now (1874) Hertford College, Oxford. If so, Anthony Wood (the authority for the text) is incorrect on this point."

In the first line, p. 168, after "consultation," add a Note: "This, to say the least of it, was a most unusual proceeding."

At the end of Note which concludes on p. 169, after &c., add "The latter part of the Indictment is in a different handwriting (Prideaux's ?), and is on a separate sheet. See original MS., at Bodleian Library, Oxford."

At the end of Note, p. 172, add "the name Thomas Mompesson appears in the Commission of Assize, A.D. 1659. See Western Circuit Records."

In the twenty-third line of p. 254, after "used," insert "for some years," and add a Note: "Some years before there had been a court in the Castle. See Western Circuit Order Book."

In the fifteenth line of p. 268, after "son," add a Note: "The body of this was written by Mr. Seymour Bowman, a cousin of Colonel Penruddock's, who probably was present at the trial. The endorsement is George Penruddock's."

In the ninth line from the bottom of p. 272, *for* "of that ilk," *read* "of the same place."

In the fourth line of Note 1, p. 44, vol. xiv., *for* "West Monesterienses," *read* "Westmonasterienses."

In the last line but one of same note, after "father," add "who was Gilbert Budgell, D.D."

In Note 1, p. 48, add "Perhaps it was the 'Luck' of the family. In some parts of the country glasses are handed down through generations, and are supposed to hold the fortune of the house. The most famous perhaps of all is the Luck of Muncaster—a curiously-wrought glass cup studded with gold and white enamel spots. This is said to have been given by King Henry VI. to Sir John Pennington, of Muncaster Castle, in 1461. The King had found shelter there from his enemies, and as he left he presented the cup saying, 'your family shall prosper so long as they preserve this unbroken.' (See Roby's Traditions of Lancashire for the ballad upon it and notes.) Then there is the Luck of Edenhall:—

> 'This glass of flashing crystal tall,
> Gave to my sires the fountain sprite;
> She wrote in it, if this glass doth fall,
> Farewell, then O Luck of Edenhall.'
>
> *Longfellow's translation of Uhland's poem.*

Edenhall, the seat of the Musgave family, is a few miles from Penrith, Cumberland."

At line 21, et sequentia, p. 22, vol, xv., omit the whole passage commencing "There is the following record," down to "felony," and the note. This was inserted by inadvertence.

At line 8, p. 23, add Note: "This plate, which had fallen into decay, was re-engraved and replaced 16th May, 1788 (Sir R. Hoare's Mod. Wilts), and was further renovated on the restoration of St. Sidwell's Church, a few years since, and is still to be seen (1872)."

The "Thurloe letters" given in these papers (except those taken from the State Papers in the Record Office, a fact which is I believe, mentioned in the context or notes), are transcripts from Mr. Thomas Birch's Thurloe's State Papers, published in London, A.D. 1742. I have only been able to examine a few of the originals, which are at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, *e.g.*, the Indictment, and the Plea for the Prisoners at Exeter.

The Western Circuit Records are in the custody of W. C. Bovill, Esq., Clerk of Assize for that Circuit, to whose kindness I am indebted for a view of them.

The King's Pamphlets, in the British Museum, a mine of historic wealth of those times, but of various value, I have also examined for these pages.

Donations to the Museum and Library.

The Council have much pleasure in acknowledging, with thanks, the following donations to the Museum and Library :—

By Rev. A. C. Smith :—"Tour in Portugal," one vol., by the donor. "Attractions of the Nile," two vols., by the donor. "Narrative of a Pilgrimage through Palestine," one vol., by the donor.

By C. Roach Smith, Esq. :—"The Rural Life of Shakespeare," one vol., by the donor.

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By H. A. Merewether, Esq., Q.C. :—"By Sea and Land," one vol., by the donor.

By Rev. George L. Otley, *Luckington Rectory* :—Two ancient stone corbels; a smaller corbel with head covered with peaked cap; three ancient stone slabs with crosses carved *on front and back*; found in Luckington Church.

By T. Bruges Flower, Esq. :—"Pugin's Works on the Architecture of the Middle Ages," parts 2 and 3.

By Mr. Cunnington :—Copies of Devizes Charters and Grants, used in the trial, Tilby *v.* Corporation of Devizes.

By R. Mullings, Esq. :—Sermon on the general nature of the Christian Religion, by Henry Head. Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Wilts, 1739. Account of the case between Canon Richard Eyre, and Mrs. Elizabeth Swanton. Sermon preached at the Coronation of William and Mary, "Tempora Mutantur" or the great change from '73—'93. Four discourses delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum. A sermon preached at the funeral of the Hon. Sir Stephen Fox, Kt., 1716. Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, Oct. 6, 1745.

By Mr. Edward Bradbury :—Painting, "Interior of Parish Church, Chippenham, *cir.* 1824, by a Chippenham Artist, W. Davis.

By Rev. Bryan King :—A "Pax" found in the Vicarage Garden, Avebury, 1872.

By T. B. Fox, Esq., J.P. :—Specimen of Fossil Wood, from the Portland Beds, Swindon.

Sent anonymously :—Engraving of South East view of Tollard Royal Church, Wilts.

By Mr. CUNNINGTON, *Brixton*:—Specimen of the original turf from the base of Silbury Hill; taken from the centre of the hill when opened by the Archæological Institute in 1849. Large polished slab of Septarium, from the Oxford Clay, Trowbridge. Slab of Forest Marble with ripple marks, Malmesbury. Two Masses of fossil Coral, from the Coral-rag of Steeple Ashton. Ammonites rostratus, from Upper Green Sand, Devizes. Polished slab, 2 ft. in diameter, of Calamophyllia radiata, a coral, from the Great Oolite, Bradford-on-Avon. Portion of fossil fish—Lepidotus—from the Drift at Melksham. Perforated spout of Roman Vessel found near Wans House. The following articles found in digging on Oldbury Hill:—a bronze ring-dial; a bronze penannular brooch; bronze armillæ; bone implements; two bronze celts; bronze gouge; fragments of ancient British pottery; whetstones; iron arrow-head; spear-head and other iron implements; circular pig of iron; horns and bones of Roebuck; horns of Bos longifrons; tusk of Boar, &c. Roman loom-weight, found at Westbury Iron Works. Spear, ploughed up on Roundway Hill. Tappa-beater, from the Society Islands. Iron wedge used for breaking up sarsen stones, found at Avebury.

By E. T. STEVENS, Esq.:—Model, to scale, of some of the ancient pit-dwellings at Fisherton, Salisbury.

The following have also been received:—Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries, Lond., Vol. v., Nos. 2 and 3. Journal of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, 1867—1868, six parts. Archæologia Cantiana, Vols. 8 and 9. Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, Vol. 1. Part 1. The Reliquary, No. 58. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, Nos. 17 to 20. Smithsonian Report for 1872.

H. F. & E. BULL, Printers and Publishers, Devizes.

WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society, from the 1st January, to the 31st December, 1874, both days inclusive.

DR.

1874.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
	To Balance brought from last account	359	8	1
	,, Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions, received from Members	178	16	6
	,, Cash received for Sale of Magazines	5	6	9
	,, Ditto for Jackson's Aubrey	8	0	0
	,, Ditto, Locke & Co., Interest on Deposit	4	13	11
	,, Ditto, net proceeds of Swindon Meeting, 1873	3	11	11
	,, Ditto ditto Devizes Meeting, 1874	0	11	6
	,, Ditto, received for admissions to Museum subsequent to October	1	1	6
		£561	10	2

CR.

1874.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.
	By sundry payments, including Postage, Carriage, Advertising, &c.	8	11	0
	,, Cash paid for Books	4	6	5
	,, Ditto, printing, engraving, &c., on account of Magazine, viz: balance of No. 41, No. 42, and on account of No. 43	103	4	6
	,, Furniture and Fittings at Museum	154	2	0
	,, Miscellaneous Expenses at ditto	18	10	10
	,, Attendant at ditto	10	5	9
	,, Insurance	1	11	8
	,, Land and Property Tax	1	6	4
	,, Commission, &c.	18	17	0
	,, Balance in hand on the General Account	240	14	8
		£561	10	2

Museum Building Fund Account, to 31st December, 1874.

DR.

1874, Dec. 31.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
	To amount of Subscription List including further Donations	1202	18	0
	,, Balance due to Bankers on this account	185	16	6
		£1388	14	6

CR.

1874, Dec. 31.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.
	By Cash paid, Purchase Money, Interest, and Law Expenses	675	9	2
	,, Cost of alteration of Building, Painting, Papering, Gas Fitting, &c. &c.	706	8	10
	,, Expenses of getting in Subscriptions, Postage Stamps, &c.	2	2	0
	,, Subscriptions remaining unpaid	4	4	6
		£1388	14	6

WILLIAM NOTT,
Financial Secretary.

AGENTS

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The Museum and Library are open on week days; from Ten to Five, from 1st April to 30th September, inclusive; and from Ten to Four, from 1st October to 31st March, inclusive.

Members of the Society are admitted free to both the Museum and Library at all times when open; and have the privilege of personally introducing to the Museum, without payment, any members of their families residing with them.

Persons who are not Members are admitted to the Museum on payment of sixpence each; or by tickets, which may be obtained from the attendant, in packets of ten at half-a-crown the packet.

All visitors, whether Members or otherwise, to write their names in the book kept for the purpose.

H. F. & E. BULL, PRINTERS, DEVIZES.

No. XLV. DECEMBER, 1875. Vol. XV.

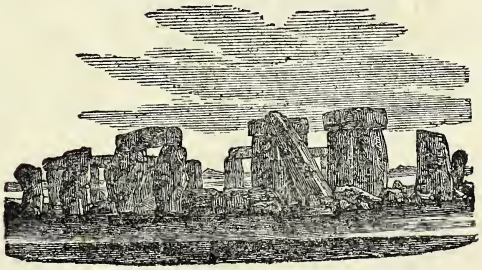
THE WILTSHIRE Archæological and Natural History MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



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Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine, will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions: and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; Mr. Wm. Cunnington, Argyll House, 361, Cold-Harbour Lane, Brixton, London, S.W.; and C. H. Talbot, Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

THE

WILTSHIRE
Archæological and Natural History
MAGAZINE.

No. XLV. DECEMBER, 1875. Vol. XV.

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THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

COLLECTIONS TOWARDS THE History of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, In Wiltshire,

WITH

TEXTS OF A CALENDAR OF THE MUNIMENTS, AND OF SOME UNPUBLISHED CHARTERS OF THE ABBEY, PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L.

THE Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, in Wiltshire, is perhaps as little known as any of that interesting Order. It is not my intention to write the history of the House, for that work has been already performed, in a fairly satisfactory manner, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, in his "Parochial History of Bremhill in the county of Wilts," London, 1828. The editors of the new edition of Sir William Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum" have drawn their account of the abbey principally from this work; and, in all probability, the amount of literary information respecting the monastery would never have received any very extensive additions, if an accidental discovery of a very important nature had not enabled me to identify a manuscript, among the untold treasures of the British Museum, with the fortunes of Stanley Abbey. This manuscript, of which I shall presently give a detailed description and transcript, forms the bulk of my paper, which I here offer to the Wiltshire Archæological Society for publication, for I feel sure that that body is fully aware of the great importance of printing original documents bearing so directly upon the mediæval archæology of the county, and of the increasing necessity of putting on record everything we can find to throw a light, however faint, upon the monastic age,

when religious establishments formed the only, or almost only, centres of refinement and civilization. To the circumstances of the foundation, as narrated by the author I have mentioned, I do not attempt to add anything, or to say more than that I believe the account he gives of the first erection, of the consequent removals, or of the final establishment at Stanley, are in the main quite correct, and in all respects borne out by the manuscript indicated. The *fasti* of the abbots is very meagre, and I have been happily able to assist in forming a fuller list.[1] The great value of a correct chronological sequence of heads of a Religious House is universally recognized by all historians and topographers, for by its aid we are enabled to assign dates to deeds, and to portions of the fabric of the buildings, which without such aid must be attributed only to conjectural epochs.

The book which claims so interesting a place in the history of Stanley Abbey is a manuscript in the Harley Collection of the British Museum, and bears the number 6716. It is thus described in the folio catalogue :—

"Liber membranaceus in folio, in quo habentur Tituli Privilegiorum et Indulgentiarum, finales Concordiæ et tituli Cartarum ad varia loca pertinentium. Folia membranacea."

It will be readily perceived from the above description that the manuscript had not been identified with any locality, and it was my good fortune to be arranging a series of uncertain descriptions of manuscripts, when my attention was drawn to the peculiar form of this one, which appeared to me to be a species of Calendar, or Register of Charters and Documents belonging to some Religious House, and to contain a schedule of the contents of the muniment room or archives of the Library. A very cursory examination of the manuscript enabled me to assign the probable locality to be near Calne, in Wiltshire, for almost the first sentences of the book make mention of an affair "between us and the Rector of the Church of Calne," and another affair "between us and the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol." The constant mention of Lambourne, Lokcesuuell, Malmesbury, Coderyngtone, and Wynterbourne, led me to

[1] See further on.

assign the county of Wilts as the positive locality of the Religious House whose register I was examining, and the tenor of the Papal deeds, plainly indicated by such terms as "quod decimas dare non tenemur de laboribus propriis," and other similar expressions, shewed me that the Order of the house I was seeking to which to attribute this book was of Cistercian rule.

Finally, the Bull of Pope Alexander III., "De Protectione Abbatiæ de Stanleg," plainly indicated that the Abbey of Stanley was the one which only satisfied the search; and on consulting the meagre account in the "Monasticon" I was fully satisfied that I had discovered a calendar of the archives of that Abbey, and thereby was enabled to make a valuable addition to the scanty records of that house.

The MS. is a thin long folio of 17 pages, written in a fine clear hand of the 13th century, and carefully ruled and prepared in such a way that additions may be made from time to time without cramping or want of space. Many such additions have been made down to the period of the suppression of monasteries by King Henry VIII. It is written along the broad way of the leaf, and there are occasional erasures, but these do not appear to be numerous nor of any importance. The book commences with an account of method in which the "*Compositiones*" or "*agreements*" of the house are arranged, namely, "by alphabet according to names of places." After these are described, the compiler commences a new section with the "Titles of the Privileges and Indulgences" granted to the Abbey, and apparently arranged according to the chronological list of the Roman Pontiffs. The series commences with several of Pope Celestine III., some of which appear to be grants made to the Cistercian Order in general, others to the Monastery of Stanley in particular. After enumerating a very interesting Bull, entitled "Concerning the absolution of the first vow of Ralph Fitz-Stephen and concerning the confirmation of the second vow," documents ratified by Pope Alexander III., to the number of twelve, are calendered. Then follow those of Popes Clement III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and other Bishops of Rome, with two of Otho, the Papal Legate.

The next section is of interest, as it introduces to our notice, for the first time, I believe, Brother Michael the Monk, whose labours for the benefit of his order have merited a special paragraph entitled "Titles of the Privileges which were acquired in the year of grace MCCXLV° by brother Michael the Monk, whose labour may God requite in the kingdom of heaven. Amen." This worthy religious appears to have been the means of obtaining no less than eighteen papal documents of privileges and liberties from Pope Innocent IV., and these the compiler of the calendar has numbered consecutively from A to S. The tenor of all, from the titles or docquets appears to be of a nature general to the Cistercian Order.

The next division of deeds is devoted to "Final Concords made before the Justiciers of our Lord the King," and relate to lands at Childenoel, Rudes or Heland, Stanleg̃, Cudel[inton], Wappel', Winterbourn̄, Nethermore, Blakedun̄, Calestun̄, Aubree, Wiltun̄, Heiwude, Cokelberg̃, Ruteshale, Jettun̄, Stodleg̃, Bradenstok, and Eston̄, most of which localities are I believe circumjacent with the Abbey. This section contains a variety of valuable historical, biographical, and topical information, such as names of several Abbots, Nicholas, Thomas, Stephen, Robert, Peter, and William. The list of Abbots which I give at the end of the paper is materially assisted by these names. The last entry is perhaps curious, as it relates to the Jew "Jocepinus" of Bristol, who had acquitted to the Abbey his claim to a debt owing by Ralph de Beauchamp, a scion of a noble family well known in Wiltshire at that time.

The next division of the calendar is devoted to "The Titles of charters of Sovereigns, which are enrolled and not in order." This class embraces grants and charter of liberties from Richard I., Henry III., and Edward II. While the next series is of those which are "in order" viz., of chronology, and these leading off with two of the Empress Mathildis, proceed with several of Henry II., and Richard I. Mr. Bowles has printed the text of some of these from the original deeds in the possession of E. Bayntun, in his work, to which reference has been already made.

Then succeeds the body of the work, with an introductory

paragraph in which are explained the scope and method of the arrangement, and the signification of the marks. This method is so interesting as affording us a glimpse at the way in which the Monks were accustomed, in the Cistercian Order, to arrange their title deeds, that I think it worth while to translate it:—"Here begin the titles of the charters. Firstly, of the charters pertaining to places whose names begin with *A*, then with *B*, and so on. In this arrangement of titles this method is carried out, viz., immediately after the title of each charter are placed the confirmations, if any, of that charter, after these confirmations are placed other deeds appertaining to the same. And it is to be noted that the *number* which is written at the head of the titles indicates in what place the separate deeds are deposited. But the *dots* represent in what order they are. The *small circles* shew which are the charters placed in the broad chest."

I think it will be unnecessary for me to point out modern localities equivalent to those indicated by this list, which is so long that we may fairly take it the abbey of Stanley was very richly endowed. The majority of the localities are in Wiltshire, and a few appear to be in Berkshire and other surrounding shires.

[MS. Harl. 6716, f. 2b.] Isto ordine collocantur Omnes compositiones istius domus quæ fuerunt inter nos et diversas personas pro diversis causis per alphabetum secundum quod loca nostra se extendunt. Primoque Alphledemour vocatur mora nostra quæ ante portam scita est, de qua quondam inquisicio fuit facta per dominum Regem, et ad modum cirographi post inquisitionem fuerat inde littera confecta. Secundo, de Compositione inter Episcopum Bathoniensem et nos pro una hyda terræ in Estō. Item, inter nos et ejusdem Episcopi Capitulum apud Welles de decimis Ovium nostrarum apud Estō. Item, inter nos et priorem de Bradenstoke de duabus acris apud Costowe et clauso nostro de mora. Item, inter nos et abbatem de Bello loco pro aqua Thamisiæ* apud Wodeleye. Item inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Calne. Item inter nos et abbatem Sancti Augustini de Bristoll, pro decimis apud Coderynton. Item compositiones inter nos et rectorem Ecclesiæ de Pharendōn quæ sunt quinque in universo, quarum tres faciunt mentionem de *Centum Solidis pro decimis de Wadeleye*,† et una de duabus marcis et dimidio annuatim solvendis pro eisdem decimis. Item inter nos et priorem de Farleye, quæ sunt duæ unius tenoris per quas tenemur solvere eidem unam Marcam annuatim pro decimis de Stanl et Nuthemour. Item, inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Westbury pro decimis de

* Thamisiæ; Thamaisie, with the second a expuncted, MS.

† Centum . . . Wadeleye, and underlined with a red stroke, MS.

Godewell et Haywod, quæ sunt quinque in universo cum confirmatione ejusdem capituli. Item inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Hentone pro decimis de Ricardeston. Item, inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Parvehaitone. Item, inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Lacok pro prato nostro de Lokcesuuell. Item inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Lambourne, scilicit decano Sancti Pauli London. Item, inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Lydeford Ewyas pro decimis de Mighale quæ sunt quinque in universo. Item inter nos et abbatem Malmesburiensem pro fils aqaæ de Merkedene. Item inter nos et abbatem Malmesburiensem pro quadam pastura apud Coderyntone. Item inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Wynterbourne de minutis decimis apud Ricardestone vel Berewyke, confirmata per Episcopum Sar, et capitulum Sar.

Item composicio nova est inter nos et Rectorem Ecclesiæ de Calne de ix d. annui redditus sibi debitis.

Tituli privilegiorum et indulgentiarum.

ii. Celestinus Papa III.

Primo, de protectione domus. Secundo, de confirmatione omnium quæ juste possidemus vel juste adipisci poterimus. Tertio, quod decimas dare non tenemur de laboribus propriis tam de terris cultis quam incultis, de ortis, virgultis, piscationibus vel de nutrimentis animalium nostrorum. Quarto, quod clericos et laicos liberos ad conversionem recipere possumus. Quinto, quod fugitivos nostros excommunicare possumus. Sexto, quod nulli nostrum liceat sine licencia fidejubere, vel pecuniam mutuo accipere. Septimo, quod in causis propriis licet nobis fratrum nostrorum testimonio uti. Octavo, quod mullus episcopus vel alia quælibet persona nos ad secularia juditia vel aliquos Conventus publicos ire compellat. Nec ad domos nostras accedat causa convocandi conventus publicos. Neque de ordinatione Abbatis, vel de quoquam contra privilegia nostra vel ordinis instituta intromittat. Nono, quod ea, quæ ad episcopale offitium pertinent, ab alio quam a proprio episcopo percipere possumus si necesse fuerit. Et quæ ab episcopis transeuntibus de quibus plenam noticiam habemus percipere possumus. Decimo, quod nichil dare debemus pro oleo sancto vel aliquo alio ecclesiastico sacramento. Undecimo, quod nulli liceat nos vel monasterium nostrum suspendere, excommunicare vel interdicere. Neque mercennarios nostros vel vicinos pro eo quod nobiscum laborant quando alii feriantur vel aliqua de propriis beneficia vel officia ex caritate prestiterint. Duodecimo, quod si commune interdictum fuerit, licet nobis in Monasterio nostro, interdictis exclusis, divina officia celebrare. Tertio decimo, quod nulli licet infra clausuram locorum nostrorum rapinam, violentiam vel quicquam aliud hujusmodi exercere. Quartodecimo, de confirmatione omnium libertatum, immunitatum, et exemptionum secularium exactionum quæ nobis fuerint rationabiliter indultæ. Quintodecimo, quod nulli liceat monasterium nostrum temere perturbare, nec quicquam de possessionibus nostris vel rebus nostris auferre, retinere, vel minuere. Ultimo, quod omnes excommunicati sint qui contra hæc temere venire temptaverint.

iii. Celestinus Papa III.

Quod decimas dare non debemus de novalibus vel laboribus quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolimus, nec de nutrimentis animalium nostrorum.

Celestinus Papa III^us^.

De absolutione primi voti Radulfi filii Stephani, et de confirmatione voti ultimi.

.i. Alexander Papa III^us^.

De protectione domus. Secundo, de confirmatione omnium quæ juste possidemus vel juste adipisci poterimus de quibus nominatim quædam specificat. Tertio, quod nullus episcopus sine certa et manifesta causa vel culpa nos ad concilium vel sinodum venire compellat, vel pro generali terræ interdicto in monasterio nostro divina celebrare prohibeat. Aut pro hiis quæ nobis a sede apostolica indulta sunt, nos vel mercennarios nostros anathematizare presumat. Quarto, quod si proprius episcopus substitutum Abbatem benedicere noluerit, liceat ei novitios proprios benedicere et alia quæ ad illud officium pertinent exercere. Quinto, de confirmatione libertatum seu immunitatum ac consuetudinum quæ nobis olim a Rege Henrico rationabiliter indultæ sunt et scriptis suis roboratæ. Sexto, quod liberas et absolutas personas ad habitum ordinis recipere possumus. Nec aliquis quempiam de monachis vel conversis nostris absque nostra licentia post factam in monasterio nostro professionem suscipere audeat. Septimo, quod fugitivos nostros excommunicare possumus. Octavo, quod nullus infra clausuram locorum nostrorum violentiam, rapinam vel furtum, sen hominem capere audeat. Nono, quod decimas dare non debemus de laboribus, quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus colimus, tam de terris antiquitus cultis quam de novalibus, neque de animalibus nostris. Decimo, quod nulli liceat monasterium nostrum temere perturbare nec quicquam de possessionibus vel rebus nostris auferre, retinere vel minuere, seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare. Undecimo, quod si quis contra predicta temere scienterque venire temptaverit, et secundo tertiore commonitus digne non satisfecerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, et excommunicationis sententiæ subjaceat.

.xiiij. Alexander Papa III^us^.

De protectione Abbatiæ de Stanleg̃. Et de confirmatione ecclesiæ de Bladedun̄.

.iiij. Clemens III^us^.

Quod ea quæ ad episcopale officium pertinent, ab alio quam a proprio episcopo percipere possumus si necesse fuerit. Item de hiis quæ percipere possumus ab episcopis transeuntibus de quibus plenam noticiam habemus. Item quod nullus nos ad secularia juditia vel aliquos conventus publicos ire compellat. Nec ad domos nostras accedat causa conventus publicos convocandi. Item quod in causis propriis liceat nobis fratrum nostrorum testimoniis uti. Item, quod nulli liceat mercennarios nostros vel vicinos interdicere vel excommunicare pro eo quod nobiscum laborant quando alii feriantur, vel aliqua de propriis beneficiciis beneficia vel officia ex caritate prestiterint. Item, in quibus causis licet nobis mercennarios nostros ab aliis excommunicatos absolvere et eis ecclesiastica sacramenta conferre.

.viij. Honorius III^us^. Quod decimæ non dentur de novalibus adquisitis post generale concilium.

.vj. Honorius III^us^. Quod liberæ personæ libere recipiantur sine mortuario.

.vj. Honorius III^us^. Quod legati procurationes pecuniarias a monasteriis nostris non extorquant, et quod in domibus nostris cibis regularibus sint contenti.

.xij. Honorius III^us^. Quod legati sine spetiali mandato domini papæ non possunt nos excommunicare vel suspendere, nec in monasteria nostra interdicti sententias promulgare.

.xiij. Honorius III^us^. Quod prelati privilegia nostra et indulgentias observent, et ab aliis observari faciant.

Non absque dolore.

.xiiij. Gregorius IX^us^. Quod Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ et ejus suffraganei, aliique ecclesiarum prelati per Cantuariensem provinciam constituti, malefactores nostros, qui nobis injuriantur de possessionibus, rebus, et domibus nostris vel *hominum nostrorum, (hoc verbum in duobus sequentibus reperitur)* sive de hiis quæ nobis debentur ex testamento decedentium, sive de decimis laborum nostrorum et nutrimentis animalium ; sententia publicæ excommunicationis vel suspensionis coherceant donec nobis plenarie satisfaciant. Item de illis qui manus violentas in nos vel aliquem nostrum injecerint.

Non absque dolore.

Gregorius .IX^us^. De eodem quo supra; generaliter ad omnes episcopos et ecclesiarum prelatos ad quos istæ litteræ pervenerint.

Non absque dolore.

.v. Innocentius .III^us^. De eodem quo supra: ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et ejus suffraganeos, et cetera, ut supra. Preterea de violenta manuum injectione claustralium in alterutrum, vel in clericum secularem.

.xv. Gregorius .IX.^us^. Quod immunes sumus a prestatione decimarum de lacte, lana, et agnis.

.vii. Gregorius .IX^us^. Quod trahi ad placitum non debemus ultra duas dietas.

.xvj. Urbanus III^us^. De confirmatione Wurthe cum pertinentiis.

.ix. Oto[n]is legati. Quod non debemus trahi ad placitum ultra duas dietas. Nec de causis litigantium compelli cognoscere.

.x. Oto[n]is legati. De decimis non dandis de possessionibus habitis ante concilium. Nec de novalibus ante vel post concilium adquisitis quæ propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolimus. Neque de ortis, virgultis, pratis, pascuis, nemoribus, molendinis, salinis, piscationibus, et nutrimentis animalium nostrorum.

Tituli privilegiorum quæ adquisita fuerant Anno gratiæ. M°. cc°. xlv°. per fratrem Michaelem Monachum, cujus laborem remuneret Deus in regno celorum. Amen.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. A. Interpretatio de novalibus.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. B. Non absque dolore.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. C. Quod immunes sumus a præstatione omnium minutarum decimarum, scilicet de nutrimentis animalium, de ortis, virgultis, pratis, et ceteris *ante concilium et post concilium acquisitis.*

Innocentius .IIII^us^. D. Quod nullus a nobis decimas exigere debet de nutrimentis animalium nostrorum, nec ab illis qui ea habent in pastura vel custodia sua. Neque benefactores nostros excommunicare vel interdicere, seu suspendere.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. E. Ne aliquis inferre possit sententiam in servientes aut familiares seu benefactores nostros, et cetera.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. F. Quod omnibus ad servitium nostrum commorantibus possumus ecclesiastica Sacramenta conferre si copiam sacerdotum suorum de facili habere nequeunt.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. G. Quod nullus nos trahat ad aliquod forum aliqua de causa, nec in ratione delicti, sine speciali mandato domini papæ.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. H. Ne aliquis secularis persona carnes commedere præsumat infra Abbatias vel Grangias nostras.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. I. Quod Domus ordinis nostri non visitentur nisi per personas ordinis.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. K. Quod monachi nostri ordinentur sine examinatione.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. L. Quod Abbates possunt committere prioribus suis vices suas absolvendi Monachos et Conversos excommunicatos pro violenta manuum injectione invicem.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. M. De conservandis nobis privilegiis et libertatibus et consuetudinibus antiquis.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. N. De confirmatione omnium privilegiorum nostrorum.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. O. Quod nullus Delegatus vel subdelegatus Sententiam interdicti vel suspensionis aut excommunicationis in nos promulgare potest.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. P. Quod compelli non possumus ad provisionem alicujus in pensionibus sive ecclesiasticis beneficiis.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. Q. Quod nullus in dedicatione ecclesiæ vel alio tempore infra septa monasterii carnibus vesci præsumat.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. R. Quod bona eorum qui in monasteriis nostris professionem faciunt petere et retinere possumus.

Innocentius .IIII^us^. S. Quod cogi non possumus vendere possessiones vel alia bona monasterii nostri.

Finales Concordiæ factæ coram Justiciarios Domini Regis.

Childcnoel. .i. Inter Nicholaum Abbatem et Godwinum Episcopum Wintoniensem de terra de Childcnoel.

Rudes sive Heland'. .ij. Inter Thomam Abbatem et Radulphum Bluet de una virgata terræ.

Stanleg'. .iij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Godefridum de Stanleg' de .vij. virgatis terræ.

Cudel' et Wappel'. .iiij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et David Abbatem Sancti Augustini Bristolliæ de .j. hida et dimidia.

Cudel' et Wappel'. .v. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Gilebertum de Finemer' de .iiij. carucatis terræ.

Cudel' et Wappel'. .vj. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Johannem de Berkel' de Cudel' cum pertinentiis.

Winterburn. .vij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Willelmum Clericum de Berewik' de .iiij. xx acris terræ.

Winterburn'. .viij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Johannem de Berewik' de uno mesuagio et .v. acris terræ.

Winterburn'. .ix. Inter Edmundum de Rocle et Willelmum Magistrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Bristolliæ de tertia parte feodi dimidii Militis cum pertinenciis.

Nethemore. .x. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Walterum le Loverd de dimidia carucata terræ.

Blakedun'. .xj. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Robertum de Aumari de communa pasturæ in Ubbeleg'.

Calestun', Aubree, Wiltun'. .xij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Walterum de Calestun de .j. virgata terræ in Calestun'. Et de .iiij^{or}. acris prati in Aubree quæ vocantur Thornmed. Et de.j. mesuagio in Wiltun' juxta Abbatiam.

Heiwude. .xiij. Inter Stephanum Abbatem et Willelmum Burnel de .j. virgata terræ.

Cokelberg' .xiiij. Inter Petrum Abbatem et Nicholaum filium Petri de Cokelberg' de medietate molendini de Cokelb' pro .x. solidis annuis et una stika anguillarum.

Heiwude .xv. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Walterum de Paveli de .j. virgata terræ.

Rusteshale. .xvj. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Ricardum le Blunt de Rusteshal' de Reddita .xl. solidorum pro .j. virgata terræ.

Jettun' .xvij. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Henricum de .l. acris terræ, et quodam prato, et pastura, et imparcamento.

Stodleg' .xviij. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Rogerum de Stodleg' de .viij acris prati et mesuagio quod Iagardus aliquando tenuit.

Bradenestok' xix. Inter Robertum Abbatem et Priorem de Bradenestok' de redditu duarum marcarum pro decimis de Cotstowe.

Eston' .xx. Inter Willelmum Abbatem et Petrum filium Galfridi de Wodeford de terra de Eston'.

Jetton' .xxi. Inter Willelmum Abbatem et Robertum Kaynel de advocatione ecclesiæ de Jetton'.

Carta Jocepini Judei de Bristollia facta coram Justiciarios Regis de Quietaclamantia totius debiti Radulphi de Bello Campo.

Tituli cartarum Regum quæ sunt rotulatæ et non in ordine.

Ricardi Regis de protectione et de confirmatione omnium quæ Henricus Rex pater suus et Matill' Imperatrix avia sua sive alii nobis dederunt, vel in futurum dare aut vendere voluerint. Et preterea omnium dignitatum et libertatum quæ a predecessoribus suis Regibus Angliæ nobis concessæ fuerunt. Et quod poni in placitum non debuimus de aliquo tenemento nostro nisi coram ipso vel capitalibus Justiciariis suis, nisi de precepto ipsius.

Item Ejusdem de eodem verbo ad verbum; Secunda.

Item carta Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi de verbo ad verbum.

Henrici Regis filii Johannis Regis de confirmatione omnium quæ in supra-

dicta carta Ricardi Regis avunculi sui continentur; preter illa quæ remisimus pro bosco de Alfledemore. Preterea in hac carta nominate sunt quædam donationes quæ in dicta carta Regis Ricardi non sunt specificatæ.

Item Ejusdem de eodem verbo ad verbum; secunda.

Henrici Regis filii Johannis Regis de bosco de Alfledemore, et de licencia claudendi illum fossato et haia. Et de licencia faciendi fossata et haias inter forestam de chippeha' et terras nostras arabiles et prata quæ jacent versus eandem forestam.

Item Ejusdem de eodem verbo ad verbum; Secunda.

Tituli cartarum Regum quæ sunt in ordine.

Lockeswell'	O	.	iij	Matillis Imperatricis et Henrici Regis filii ejus de Lockeswell cum pertinenciis.
Lockeswell'	O	.	iiij	Matildis Imperatricis de quodam prato et de .xx. solidatis terræ juxta pontem de Lacok. .S[cilicet]. le Elande.
Migehal'	O	.	viii	Henrici Regis de Migehal' cum pertinenciis.
Wurthe	O	.	vi	Henrici Regis de Wurthe cum pertinenciis.
	O	.	v	Henrici Regis de Stanleg', Migehal', Lockeswell', Leilande, Hetfelde, pastura in foresta et de confirmatione datorum.
	O	.	vii	Henrici Regis de quietaclamantia telonei, pontagii, passagii, et aliarum consuetudinum per totam terram suam.
Lamburn'	O	.	ij	Henrici Regis de confirmatione doni Hugonis de Plugeni de una hida terræ.
Lamburn'	O	.	j	Henrici Regis de confirmatione doni Hugonis de Plugenei de .xx. solidatis terræ.
Langeden'	O	.	ix	Ricardi Regis de pastura de Langeden' et Wika.
Cudelingt'	O	.	xviij	Ricardi Regis de confirmatione doni Radulphi filii Stephani de Cudelingt' et Wappel'.
	O	.	xj	Henrici Regis de expeditatione* canum nostrorum per omnes grangias nostras non facienda.
	O	.	xj	Item Ejusdem de eodem verbo ad verbum; secunda. Et de exhibitione forestariorum.

Incipiunt tituli cartarum. Primo; cartarum pertinentium ad loca quorum nomina incipiunt per .A. Secundo; ponuntur tituli cartarum pertinentium ad loca quorum nomina incipiunt per .B., et sic deinceps secundum ordinem Alphabeti. In ordinatione ista titulorum iste observatur modus, videlicet post titulum cuiuslibet cartæ immediate ponuntur confirmationes ejusdem cartæ si quæ fuerint, post confirmationes alia scripta ad eandem pertinentia. Notandum quod numerus qui scribitur in capite titulorum significat in quo loco singulæ cartæ positæ sunt. Puncti vero, in quo ordine. Parvi circuli designant quæ cartæ positæ sunt in luta archa. Incipiunt tituli cartarum pertinentium ad loca quorum nomina incipiunt per. A.

Aubrea	O	·:	xxix	Fulconis de Cantilupo de .vij. acris prati apud la Quabbe. Et quibusdam aliis pratis.
Aubrea	O	·:	xxviij	Confirmatio Thomæ de Sancto Vigore de eisdem pratis.
Aubrea	O	·:	xxvij	Donum Thomæ de Sancto Vigore quod fecit dicto Fulconi de Cantilupo de eisdem pratis.

* Striking off portions of the feet.

Aubrea	O	·:	xxvij	Item Ejusdem de eodem; secunda.
Aubrea	O	·:	xxviij	Donum ejusdem Thomæ de Sancto Vigore quod fecit nobis de eisdem pratis.
Aubrea		.	iiij	Adæ filii Everardi de .j. acra prati et dimidia. Et de .j. acra prati quæ jacet in Niwecrofte.
Aubrea		.	iiij	Walteri de Calestun de quibusdam pratis, et de quodam messuagio in Wilton. Finalis concordia xiia.
Aubrea		.	iiij	Walteri de Greneford de .i. acra prati.
Aubrea			v.	Reginaldi filii Godwini de confirmatione doni Ragenildæ Matris suæ de quodam acra prati. Et de Redditu .iij. denariorum in Calna.
Berkele	O	·:	xij	Julianæ filiæ Aluredi de Gatemore de .j. virgata terræ et quodam Messuagio cum .ij. acris et tribus croftis quæ vocentur Inhokes. Et de pastura ad. ccc. oves et .x. animalia.
Berkele	O	·:	x	Willelmi Branche de quieta clamantia curiæ de from' pro terra de Berkel'.
	O	·:	xi	Confirmatio Roberti Malherbe Militis de pastura .iii. ovium et .x. animalium.
Berkele	O	·:	xi	Confirmatio Reginaldi* de Albamara junioris de eisdem.
	O	·:	xij	Confirmatio Thomæ de albamara de terra de Berkele et pastura trecentorum Multonum.
Berkele	O	·:	x	Donum Reginaldi de Albamare quod fecit nobis de eisdem.
Bristoll'	O	.	xiij	Willelmi Comitis Glocestriæ de quietaclamantia telonie de omnibus quæ ad proprios usus emimus in villa de Bristoll'.
Bristoll'	O	.	xiiij	Ejusdem de eodem verbo ad verbum; Secunda.
		.	vj	Christinæ filiæ et heredis Adæ Horegh' de quodam burgagio cum pertinentiis in villa Bristollia binethegete[beneath the gate] quod quondam fuit Adæ Horegh.'
Bristoll'	O	.	vj	Nicholai Clerici filii Henrici de Hambroc de quadam terra in feria.†
Bristoll'		.	vij	Donum Henrici de Hambroc quod fecit dicto Nicholao Clerico filio suo de eadem terra.
		.	vj	Donum quod fecit Baldewinus Juvenis deLismor Adæ Horegh' de dicto burgagio cum pert.
Bristoll'		.	vij	Ricardi Coffin de venditione quam fecit dicto Henrici de Hambroc de eadem terra.
Bristoll'		.	vij	Petri Blackeberie quam fecerat Walteri de Ponte de eadem terra.
Bristoll'		.	vi	Thomæ Bat de Redditu .xii. solidorum pro eadem terra.
Botenedis		.	viij	Willelmi Cinnoch de tota terra sua de Botenedis.
Botenedis		.	ij	Donum Godefridi de Stanleg' quod fecit Roberto Cinnoch fratri dicti Willelmi de eodem et de Colleg.'
Botenedis		.	viij	Alexandri de Stodleg' de tota parte sua prati in botenedis.

* Reginaldi; originally Regeinaldi, but the superfluous *e* expuncted.

† Nicholai . . . feria; this entry has been lined out with red ink at a later period.

Botenedis	.	ix	Thomas Bubbe de quietaclamantia Juris et clamii quod habuit in prato de Botenedis. Et pasturæ .vi. boum quam habere debuit cum bobus nostris in Stanleg'.
Boclande	.	liij	Reginaldi Coch de Messuagio et .vj. acris ad sustentandum lampadem in infirmitorio secularium, valet redditus .ii. sol. iij. den. Ceteræ cartæ pertinentes ad eandem terram sunt in quadam pixide cum cartis secularium.*
Boclande			
Bluntesdun'	.	x	Hugonis Calvi de Redditu .vij. solidorum; cartæ duæ.
Bluntesd'	.	xi	Donum Willelmi de Wastevill' quod fecit dicto Hugoni Calvo de dimidia virgata terræ, et .ij acris. Et alia carta de .v. acris et dimidia de quibus terris percipimus dictum Redditum .vij. solidorum.
Bluntesd'			
Bluntesd'	.	xii	Confirmacio Godefridi de Scudemor quam fecit dicto Hugoni de eisdem terris.
Bluntesd'	.	xiij	Aliciæ filiæ Constanciæ de quietaclamantia quam fecit dicto Hugoni Calvo de Redditu .iij. solidorum, quem percipere solebat ab eo de predictis terris.
Bluntesd'			
Bluntesd'	.	xiij	Donum Willelmi de Wastevill, quod fecit dictæ Aliciæ sorori suæ de eodem Redditu .iij. solidorum.
	: :	xi	Willelmus Zouche Miles de redditu viij s.
Caln'	.	xv	Magistri Rogeri de Calna de .j. Mesuagio quod reddit annuatim Domino fundi .vij. d'. ob'.
	⁘	xxxviij	Isabellæ quondam uxoris Baldewini Cat de Redditu .xij.d. juxta domum Morkok.
Caln'	.	xvi	Herberti filii Petri de quodam Mesuagio. *De Mesuagio et terris.*
	.	xvij	Henrici pinnoc de una libra ceræ singulis annis percipienda de Stokeleg'.
Caln'	.	xvii	Reginaldi filii Petri et dicti herberti fratris ejus de eodem Mesuagio.
	.	xix	Walteri clobbe de quodam Mesuagio in Calna. Cartæ .iij.
Caln'	.	xviij	Donum Willelmi Wiffin quod fecit dictis Reginaldo et Herberto fratribus de eodem Mesuagio.
Caln'	.	xix	Henrici Wither de domo sua, et .j. acra terræ et .j. pertica.
Caln'	.	xx	Johannis de Avebir' de .iiij^{or} Mesuagiis, *et Walterus de Calstone.*
Caln'	.	xx	Confirmatio Walteri de Calestun' filii dicti Johannis de eisdem .iiij. Mesuagiis.
	⁘	l	Galfridi Daicoc de quodam mesuagio et de quodam curtillagio.
	⁘	l	Confirmatio Rogeri Petitmac de eisdem.
	⁘	l	Donum Rogeri Mac quod fecit dicto Galfrido de dicto curtillagio tantum.
	⁘	lxvij	Mabelyæ filiæ Reginaldi crey quietaclamantia de quodam mesuagio in Caln'.

*Ceteræ . . . secularium; this passage has been lined out with red ink at a later period.

Caln'	.	xxi.	Richardi Agemund de tota terra quam habuit in Caln'.
Caln'	.	xxi	Walteri Thurgod de .j. burgagio in Cusinstret quod est juxta burgagium Nicholai Trikedel.
	:	lix	Henrici de Comerford de Redditu xijd. apud Calne.
Caln'	.	xxii	Ricardi de Bosco de quadam terra in Battestret.
	: :	xxxi	de Cantaria missæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Calne, et de .iiij. solidis nobis debitis.
Caln'	.	xxiii	Venditio Osberti Paris quam fecit eidem Ricardo de eadem terra.
	: :	ij	Johannis filii Henrici Cementarii de redditu
Caln'	.	xxiii	iiijd. ob.
	: :	xxxj	Willelmi textoris de quodam mesuagio quod situm est in aquilonari parte Capellæ Sancti Andreæ.
Caln'	.	xxiiij	Cyrograffum inter nos et Capellanum Beatæ Mariæ de Caln' de quodam Mesuagio quod de nobis tenet pro. iiij. solidis annui redditus, et aliud de Willelmo Bleburi.
Caln'		xxiv	Donum Walteri parmentarii quod fecit dicto Willelmo de eodem messuagio.
	.	xv	Donum Ricardi Blakeman quod fecit dicto Willelmo de eodem Mesuagio.
Caln'	.	xxv	Willelmi de Devyses, Clerici, qui dicitur Weyland, de redditu .xv. solidorum, et .vij. denariorum in Calna, quem redditum dedit nobis pro liberatione sua.
Caln'	.	xxv	Willelmi Luvel de .j. mesuagio in vico qui vocatur Patteford.
	.	xv	Willelmi Luvel de Redditu .xviij. denariorum, scilicet de terra quamErnaldus sacerdos tenuit.
Caln'	.	xxvj	Walteri Hulle de Redditu .xij. denariorum de Messuagio uno in villa de Calna.
Caln'	.	xxvj	Willelmi scriptoris de .j.Messuagio in Cusinstret quod Editha quondam uxor sua nobis legavit.
	.	xv	Willelmi scriptoris de quieta clamantia cujusdam Conventionis pro Duobus Mesuagiis.
Caln'		xxvij	Ricardi filii Willelmi de Weylande de Calna de acquietancia liberationis annuæ panis et cervisiæ.
Caln'		xxvij	Willelmi Capellani de terra cum domibus quæ fuit Walteri Trikedel.
	.	xvj	Swonildæ quondam uxoris Oslac de quietaclamantia Juris quod habuit in quodam Mesuagio in la Cheretstret.
Caln'	.	xxvij	Johannis le Mason de duobus denariis Annui redditus de suo tenemento.
	.	xxij	Adæ Bat de confirmatione doni quod Johannes frater suus fecit nobis de tota terra quam emit de Northman.
			Quieta clamacio Thomæ Ernald de Divises, et Willelmi Skile de Calne de uno mesuagio cum pertinenciis suis quod situm est in Portstret inter domum Petri le Mercer et domum Willelmi le scriveyn.

Caln'		.	xxviij	Bartholomei de Quein'ford de Redditu .xij. denariorum de quadam crofta, et de dominio quod habuit in eadem crofta, scilicet de tribus acris terræ et dimidia.
Caln'		.	xxviij	Rogeri Aldwini de Redditu .xij. denariorum de terræ quam emit de Ricardo ad carcerem.
Caln'		.	v	Reginaldi filii Godwini de Redditu .iij. denariorum. Isti .iij. denarii pertinent ad molendinum Fulericum. Supra in quadam de Aubrea*
		.	xxv	Johannes de Aula de Calne de annuo redditu .xijd.
Caln'		.	xxix	Alexandri Scorel de Redditu .iij. Solidorum et .ij. denariorum pro .j. Messuagio in Cusinstret ex dono Johannis de Avebiri.
		.	xxi	Alexander Crede de Redditu .ij. sol., et idem feffavit Hamonem.
Caln'		.	xxix	Stephani de Calestun' de Redditu.vi.denariorum.
		::	xv	Quieta Clamacio Thomæ Weyland de .j. tenemento
		:	lix	Bartholomeus de Quein'ford, de dimidia libra Ceræ percipienda de Willelmo Lovel pro tribus acris et dimidia terræ et vocatur Clobbecroft.
		.:	xxix	Henrici de Marisco de escambio quarumdam terrarum § Worth.
Caneford				Quere subtus sub titulo de Straford.†
Caldecote		.	xxx	Warneri Mansel de Redditu .l. solidorum in Caldecote,‡ et .ix. sol. .x.d. et ob. in Durierd.
Caldecot'		.	xliij.	Donum Willelmi de Wenneval quod fecit eidem Garnero de eodem Redditu.
Caresbroc	O	:	vij	Willelmi de Orglandris de terra quam Wimundus de Caresbroc tenuit juxta novum caresbroc. Hec terra est in insula de Wigt.
Chippeha'		.	xxxi	Willelmi le Noreis de dono quod fecit Ricardo le Sureis de quodam Burgagio.
Chippeh'		.	xxxii	Willelmi le Noreis de dono quod fecit nobis de eodem burgagio post mortem dicti Ricardi le Sureis.
Chippeh'		.	xxxiij	Confirmatio Radulphi de Stares de eodem.
Chippeh'		.	xxxiij	Ricardi le veske de Redditu .vi.d. de Messuagio quod Paganus tenuit.
Chippeh'		.	xxxiiii	Durandi le Franceis de confirmatione doni quod Ricardus Smud fecit nobis de .j. Mesuagio.
		:.	xxxix	Durandi le Franceis de .j. acra prati in Westmed.
		:.	xxxix	Durandi le Franceis de Redditu .ij. sol.
		:.	xxxix	Item Ejusdem de Redditu .xij.d.
		:.	xxxix	Willelmi filii Durandi le Franceis de dimidia acra prati in Westmed.
		.:	xl	Ejusdem Willelmi de Relaxatione vj.d. quos reddebamus ei pro terra quam habemus de eo in Chipp'.

* Supra . . . Aubrea; a red line drawn through these words at the time of writing the sentence above—*Isti*, &c.

† Quere . . . Straford; a red line drawn through these words.

‡ .l. sol. in Caldecote; underlined in MS.

Chippeh'		.	xxxiv	Roberti le veske de quitaclamantia ejusdem Messuagii.
Chippeh'		.	xxxv	Durandi le Franceis de confirmatione doni Radulphi le Franceis quod fecit nobis de .j. Messuagio et de quitaclamantia Redditus .xii.d. de eodem Messuagio.
		::	xl	Johannis de la Barre de quietaclamantia .vi.d. redditus quos debebamus eidem Johanni.
Chippeh'		.	xxxv	Johannis de la Barra de confirmatione doni quod Ricardus filius Rogeri sacerdotis fecit nobis de .j. Mesuagio.
Chippeh'		.	xxxv	Donum ejusdem Johannis quod fecit dicto Ricardo de eodem Mesuagio.
Chippeh'		.	xxxvj	Willelmi de Rugedun' de confirmatione doni Ricardi patris sui quod fecit nobis de quadam crofta quæ jacet subtus gardinum Henrici Harding.
		::	xxxvij	Domini Galfridi Gasselin de libertatibus. :: xxxvij.
Chippeh'		.	xxxvi	Henrici Harding de quadam cultura quæ vocatur turnebroc et .ij. acris, pro .ij. croftis.
		.	xxxvi	Willelmi Harding de Redditu .viij. solidorum in Chippeh'.
		::	xxxvii	Johannæ Gacelin de predictis liberatibus confirmatio.
Chippeh'		::	xxxvii	Thomæ de la Mare de quodam prato extra Chippeham super ripam fluminis Avene. Et vocatur Dounham.
Chippeh,		.	xxxvii	Confirmatio Adæ filii dicti Thomæ de la Mare de eodem prato.
		::	xxxvii	de bundis inter boscum nostrum et boscum domini Edwardi Gacelyn in foresta de Peuwesham.
Chippeh'		.	xxxviii	Willelmi Beauvilein de dono quod fecit Ricardo filio Rogeri presbiteri de quodam Mesuagio.
Chippeh'		.	xxxi i	Willelmi Beauvilein de confirmatione doni dicti Ricardi quod fecit nobis de eodem Messuagio.
Chippeh'				Et de confirmatione doni Radulphi le Franceis quod fecit nobis de alio Mesuagio. Et de confirmatione Redditus de Durierd.
		::	lv	Allexandri le Wayte de quodam Mesuagio In Chippeham.
		::	lv	Ricardi Horn de Redditu .iiij.^{or} sol. in eodem. *De boscis.*
Chippeh'		.	xxxix	Willelmi Beauilein de bosco quem habuit juxta abbatiam et de crofta quæ vocatur Uppeleg'.
Chippeh'	O	.	xvi	Reginaldi de Paueli de parte sua bosci in foresta de Chippeh' qui vocatur hulwerek.
Chippeh'	O	.	xvii	Roberti de Oseuill' de quadam particula bosci in foresta de Chippeh'.
Chippeh,		.	xxxix	Johannæ de Oseuill' de .j. burgagio quod Ricardus le Sureis tenuit.
Chippeh'		.	xl	Johannæ de Oseuill' de parte sua bosci in la Mora.
Chippeh'		.	xl	Ejusdem de eodem; secunda. Ista non concordat in omnibus cum priore.
Chippeh'		.	xli	Confirmatio Walteri de Paueli de eodem.

Chippeh'		.	xlii	Simonis Horn de Redditu .iij. solidorum.
Chippeh'		::	xiiij	Rogeri Marescalli de .j. acra prati in estmed. Et alia de dimidia acra prati in Estmed.
Chippeh'		::	viij	Helyæ filii Philippi de Cokelberg' de quarta* parte cujusdam dimidiæ acræ prati in Estmed.
Chippeh,				Hæc (iiii) tres cartæ suprascriptæ pertinent ad Molendinum fulericum et sunt in quadam pixide† (in archa lata.)
Chippeh'				‡
Chippeh'	O			Cyrographum de Alfledemore quod vocatur viginti quatuor; est in lata archa.
Chipmannesled'	O	.	vii	Thomæ de Langual' de .ij. solidatis terræ. Et de terra quam Aluricus Ches tenuit.
Chipmannesl'	O	:	vi	Comfirmatio Ricardi de Esse de eisdem.
Chipmannesl'	O	⁘	v	Confirmatio Roberti de Esse filii dicti Ricardi de eisdem. Et de .ij. acris in Lia ex dono dicti Ricardi patris sui.
vel Corsleg'				
Chipmannes'	O	⁘	iiii	Thomæ filii Henrici de quodam Mesuagio. Et de confirmatione doni Walteri de Lia de .ij. Mesuagiis.
		::	xxxvij	Quietaclamacio Priorissæ de Stodleye de omnibus quæ tenemus de feudo suo in Chapmaneslad.
Chipmannes'	O	⁘	vii	Confirmatio Godefridi de Grancumba doni dicti Thomæ de dicto Mesuagio. Et doni dicti Walteri de Lia de dictis duobus Mesuagiis.
Chipmannesl'				
Chipmannesl'	O	⁘	iiii	Confirmatio Philippi de Lia filii dicti Walteri de Lia de eisdem .ij. Mesuagiis.
		⁘	lxij	Villelmi Burdevil' de terra de estchatindon quam dedit domino Johanni Luvel.
		⁘	lxij	Emæ de Castello confirmatio de terra Estchatindon quam Willelmus Burdevil' dedit domino Johanni Luvel.
		⁘	lxij	Michaelis de dimidia virgata terræ quam dedit domino Johanni Luvel in Estchatind'.
Chipmannesl'	O	:	vi	Walteri de Paueli de quietaclamantia sequelæ quam ipsi vel homines nostri de Chipmannesled facere consuevimus in hundredo de Westbiri.
Chipmannesl'				
Chipmannesl'	O	⁘	vi	De quodam mesuagio cum curtillagio quod Godefridus de Bissopestre tenet de nobis in Chepmanesl'.
Cotstowe	O	:	iii	Johannis filii Petri de terra de Cotstowe.
	O	:	iii	Ejusdem de eodem; Secunda.
Cotstowe	O	:	j	Confirmatio Willelmi de Maudeuill' Comitis Essexiæ § de eodem.
Cotstowe	O	:.	ij	Confirmatio Simonis le Bastard de eodem.

* Quarta; quartea, with the e expuncted, MS.

† Hæc . . . pixide; a red line drawn through this sentence, at a later period, and the iiii and the remainder added.

‡ Space left blank in MS.

§ Essexiæ; Essexcie, but the c expuncted, MS.

Cotstowe	O	:	ij	Donum Simonis le Bastard quod fecit dicto Johanni filii Petri de eodem.
Cotstowe	O	:	j	Confirmatio Willelmi de Mandeuill' Comitis Essexiæ de eodem dono.
		.:	lxii	Confirmatio Emmæ de Castello de terra de chatindon' quam Michael dedit domino Johanni Luvel.
		⁘	liii	Roberti Blueth de Duabus acris.
		.:	xxxvj	Roberti Blueth de .v. acris terræ.
		⁘	xxxvj	Item de eodem. Item ejusdem de eodem.
		⁘	lxiiij	Philippi* Basset de tota terra cum domibus et omnibus aliis apud Salharpe, Cartæ duæ.
		⁘	lxiiij	Confirmatio Alynæ Basset de eisdem.
		⁘	lxiiij	Confirmatio comitis Marescalli de eisdem.
		⁘	lxiiij	Philippi Basset de duabus acris ad faciendum chatiam ad Salharpe.
		⁘	lxv	Concessio Philippi Basset transeundi per diversa loca super terram suam nobis et nostris, brevæ duæ.†
Costowe	O	⁘	xxx	Walteri de Dunstanvill' tertii de quietaclamantia servitii de Cotstowe.
Costowe		⁘	xxxiii	Hugonis filii Johannis de Chilton De .vj. acris terræ arabilis in campo de Chilton'.
		.:	xxxiii	Confirmacio Johannis de Chilton'.
Cokelberg'	O	:	xviij	Simonis de Cokelb'. et Petri filii ejus de medietate molendini de Cokelb' cum pertinentiis.
Cokelberg'	O	:	xi	Confirmatio Walteri Crok de eodem.
Cokelberg'	O	:	xix	Petri de Cokelb' de restauratione medietatis dicti molendini si a nobis ablata fuerit.
Cokelb'	O	:	xx	Rogeri Burel de Redditu .x. solidorum pro medietate dicti molendini. Et de mertiamento .x. solidorum quotiens termi[nus] dicti Redditus transgressus fuerit.
Cokelb'				Finalis Concordia de eodem, xiiija.
		⁘	lxiij	Johannis Lovel de tota terra quam habemus in campo de Chatindon'. Cartæ duæ.
		⁘	lxv	Domini Philippi Basset de quodam chemino nobis concesso, videlicet, Langstret.
		⁘	lxiij	Confirmacio Domini R. de Monte forti de terra quam Johannes Lovel dedit nobis.
		⁘	liij	Roberti Bluet de excambio .iiijor. acrum et dimidiæ, et una pertica.
Chatindon				Quære in Costow.
Clopcot'		.	xliiij	David de Calna de .j. virgata terræ. Hæc terra pertinet ad tannariam.
Clopcot'		.	xliiij	Confirmatio Adæ de Clopcot' de eodem.
Clopcot'		.	xliiij	Confirmatio Roisæ de Clopcot' de eodem.
Clopcot'		.	xlv	Donum Johannis de Wudestert' quod fecit dicto David de eadem virgata terræ.
Clopcot'		.	xlv	Confirmatio Michaelis de Clopcot' doni quod dictus Johannes de Wudestert' fecit dicto David de Caln' de tota terra quam tenuit de eo in Clopcot'.

* Philippi; originally Philippus, but corrected, MS.

† bre due, MS.

Chilton				Quære in Costow.
Cudelint'	O	.	xviii	Radulfi filii Stephani de Cudelint' et Wappel'.
	O	.	xix	Ejusdem de eodem, ija. Una istarum tangt servitium Regale et non altera.
		.	xlvi	Andreæ de Bosco de quodam prato.
		.	xlvi	Andreæ de Bosco de duabus acris terræ arabilis.*
		.	xlvi	Andreæ de bosco de una acra terræ arabilis.
Cudelint'	O	.	xviij	Confirmatio Regis Ricardi de eodem.
Cudelint'	O	.	xviij	Confirmatio ejusdem Regis quam fecerat Radulfo filio Stephani de Cudel' et Wappel et
Cudelint'				Winterburn', et est cum confirmatione dicti Ricardi regis quam fecit nobis de dono Radulfi filii Stephani, scilicet de Cudelint' et Wappel'.
Cudelint'	O	.	xix	Confirmatio Ricardi Walensis de eodem.
	O	.	xviij	Scripta quæ habemus de domino Gileberto filio Stephani pro quieta clamacione Manerii de Codinton', et alia scripta dictum placitum tangenc[i]a.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxii	Gileberti de Finemer' de quitaclamantia juris quod habuit in Cudel' et Wappel'.
Cudelint'				Ejusdem de eodem Finalis concordia, va.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxij	Johannis de Berkele de quitaclamantia Juris et clamii quod habuit in Cudel' et Wappel'.
Cudelint'				Ejusdem de eodem Finalis Concordia, vja.
	O	⁘	xxiij	Henrici Regis quam Johannes de Berkele reddidit nobis pro quitaclamantia.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxij	Abbatis et Conventus Malmesbir' de quadam purprestura facta in Cudelint'.
	O O	.	xix	Radulphi filii Stephani de Cudelintona.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxi	Abbatis et Conventus Sancti Augustini Bristoll' de decimis de Cudel' et Wappel'.
		⁘ ⁘	xxxij	Reginaldi de Leygrove de quodam Escambio.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxi	Item Abbat's et Conventus Sancti Augustini Bristoll'. Unde supra, et de erectione Capella.† Finalis Concordia .iiija. de Cudel' et Wappel'. In Registro post titulos cartarum in principio Libri invenies transcripta de placito de Codintone.
Cudelint'	O	⁘	xxi	Roberti de Bosco de fossato faciendo circa boscum nostrum qui vocatur cherscumb'.
Cudelint'		.	xlvi	Simonis de axtun' de .j. acra in butecumb'.
Culern'				Quere subtus cum Jettun'.
Calestun'				Finalis Concordia .xija.
Childcnoel				Finalis Concordia .ja.
Divis'		⁘	xlvi	Rogeri filii Everardi de .j. Mesuagio et crofta. Istud Mesuagium pertinet ad tannariam.
		⁘	xlvi	Thomæ Rivel de quodam Mesuagio; Duæ.
		⁘	xlvij	Item de eodem: cartæ Quatuor.
				Datyntun' O ⁘ carta una xxxij. secunda O ⁘ xxxiij. et tercia O ⁘ xxxiiij.

* Arabilis; arrabilis, but the first r expuncted, MS.

† Written in a very small hand over line, with corresponding marks to indicate the place of entry into the text.

		::	xv	Hugonis Peverel de redditu xii s. in Dunestanton.
Durierd		.	xlvij	Warneri Mansel de Redditu .ix. sol. x. d. ob.
		:	xxv	Ejusdem de eodem .ija.
Durierd		.	xlviij	Confirmatio Roberti de Wesneval de eodem.
Durierd		.	xxxviij	Confirmatio Willelmi Beauvilein de eodem. Supra* in quadam de Chippeh'.
Durierd		.	xliij	Donum Willelmi de Wesneval quod fecit dicto Warnero de eodem. Supra* in quadam de Caldecot'.
Estun'		.	xlix	Ricardi de Peautun' de medietate terræ suæ de Estun'.
		.	li	Petri filii Galfridi de Wodeford de omnibus terris quas habemus de feodo suo. Finalis Concordia .xxa.
Estun'		.	xlix	Ricardi de Peautun' de tota terra sua de Estun'.
Estun'		.	l	Confirmatio Philippi de Wika de eodem.
		· ·	l	† Confirmatio Philippi de Wika Junioris de eodem. Et quietaclamantia ejusdem de secta curiæ, et molendinorum Suorum. ‡
Estun'		.	l	Confirmatio Thomæ de Wika de eodem.
Estun'		.	li	Confirmatio Galfridi de Wudeford de eodem.
Estun'		.	li	Confirmatio Aliciæ de Wudeford de eodem.
Estun'	O	:·	xv	Confirmatio Jocelini Episcopi Bathoniensis de eodem.§
Estun'		.	lij	Philippi de Wika de quarta parte unius acræ quæ jacet juxta murum Grangiæ.
Estun'	O	:·	xviij	Compositio inter nos et Decanum et conventum de Welles de decimis de Estun'.
Estun'	O	·	lij	Godefridi de la Cnolle de .v. acris terræ.
Fugelstun'				Quære subtus cum Wiltun'.
Godewell'	O	.	xxiij	et O :· xxvj. Hugonis de Plugenei de tota terra sua de Godewell', et quibusdam aliis.
		:·	xl	Willelmi de Corsleg' de quietaclamantia consuetudinis in Chipmanneslade.
		:·	xl	Walteri de Brooweya de quodam fossato apud Godewell'.
		::	xxxvi	Carte Godefridi de Byssopestre quam de nobis habuit de quodam Messuagio in Chepmanneslad', quam nobis restituit, et est duplex, in modum Cyrographi.
			ibi	
		::	ibi	Carta quam fecit uxori suæ de eodem tenemento.
		::		Quieta clamancia ejusdem Godefridi quam nobis fecit de eodem tenemento.
Godewell'	O	.:	ix	Philippi Marmiun de dimidia virgata cum croftis et bosco quam Edricus tenuit.
Godewell'	O	.:	ix	Philippi Marmiun de tota terra quam quondam tenebamus de Bartholomeo patre suo quæ jacet
Godewell'				inter bellum quercum et la Brocweie.

* Supra, &c.; a red line drawn through each sentence.

† An entry erased here (in a late hand).

‡ Eight lines of writing erased here (in a late hand).

§ De eodem; originally de dono quod dictus Ricardus de Peautun' fecit nobis de .j. hida terræ, but this has a line drawn through it, MS.

Godewell'	o	:	iiij	Petri de Scudemor de .v. seilluns terræ. Et de quadam via ad carectas nostras super terram suam.
Godewell'		·	liij	Walteri de Brocweie de fossato fatiendo juxta gravam nostram.
		::	xxxvij	Quieta clamancia Priorissæ de Stodl' de omnibus quæ tenemus de feodo suo in Chepmaneslad'. Hæc carta servit de Corsleye apud godewelle.
Godewell'	o	.:	j	Hugonis de Raden' de pastura .cccc. ovium in Walemerse.
Godewell'	o	·:	ij	Confirmatio Ingerardi de Raden' de eodem, et preterea de pastura .xx. otiorum averiorum in
Godewell'				Walemerse ; excepto quod remisimus ei .cc. oves de predictis .cccc. ovibus.
Godewell'	o	·:	iij	Confirmatio Willelmi de Raden' filii dicti Ingerardi de eodem.
	o	.:	iij	Willelmi de Radene de prato quod vocatur Mulemed.' Et alio prato cum pertinenciis. Obligatio ejusdem de eisdem.
Godewell'	o	.:	xx	Decani et Capituli Sar' de decimis de Godewell'.

Berkele, Boclande, Chipmannesled',* vel Corsleg', et lie; quære in ordine alphabeti.

	o	·:	ix	Walteri de Paveli de terra quam habuimus de Philippo Marmiun.
	o	.:	ix	Rogeri Marmiun de Quietaclamacione.
		:	j	Godefridi de bissopestre de quodam Mesuagio cum curtillagio in Haiwode, quod ei dedit Thomas Le Deveneis pro servicio suo.
		:	j	Quitaclamatio de redditu .vi. denariorum, quos remisit Willelmus Drugun de Heywod' Godefrido de Bissopestre, quos recipere solebat annuatim de quodam mesuagio cum curtillagio in villa de Haiwode.
Heiwude	o	.	xxv	Galfridi Burnel de .j. virgata terræ et dimidia.
Heiwude		:	j	Confirmatio Willelmi Burnel de eodem.
Heiwude		:	j	Confirmatio Hawisæ de Paueli de eodem.
Heiwude		:	ij	Donum Hawisæ de Paueli quod fecit nobis de eodem.
Heiwude		:	ij	Donum Willelmi Burnel quod fecit nobis de eodem.
Heiwude	o	.	xxv	Confirmatio Hugonis de Plugen' quam fecit dicto Galfrido Burnel de eadem terra.
Heiwude		:	iij	Hawaisæ de Paueli de Redditu .vi. solidorum.
Heiwude		:	iij	Confirmatio Walteri de Paueli filii dictæ Hawisæ de eodem Redditu.
		::	xij	Gaufridi burnell de x acris terræ.
		::	xxxvi	Donum dicti Godefridi quod nobis fecit de predicto tenemento.
Heiwude		:	iiij	Thomæ de Stokes de quadam Crofta pro .iij. acris terræ.
Westburi'		·	iiij	Rogeri filii Michaelis de dimidia acra prati in prato de Stane.

* Chipmannessled'; originally Chippmanessled', but the second p expuncted, MS.

Heiwude				Finales Concordiæ; xiija. et xva.
		:	ij	Hawys de plugg' de x acris.
		:	ij	Hawys filiæ Hugonis de Plugg' de redditu vi solidorum.
		:	iij	Radulpho de bello campo de eodem redditu.
Hakepen		:	v	Teobaldi de Winterburn' de pastura sua de Hakepen.
		::	xxiij	Ricardi Quintin de quieta clamatione .xij. denariorum pro pastura de Hakepenne.
Hakepen		·:	xiij	Confirmatio Ricardi filii dicti Teobaldi de eodem. Subtus in quadam de Winterburn'.*
Hakepen		·:	xxiiij	Willelmi Quintin de tota pastura sua super Hakep'. In quadam de Winterburn'.*
Hakepen		:	vii	Johannis Wace de Hentun' de una drova ad oves nostras per medium pasturæ suæ super Hakepen.
Hakepen				In quadam de Hentun'.*
Hakepen	O	·:	xxxj	Confirmatio Walteri de Dunstanvill' de eadem Drova. In quadam de Hentun'.*
Hakepen		·:	xxij	Scolasticæ fili Ricardi Anketilæ de pastura sua super Hak'.
				In quadam de Winterburn'.*
Hentun'		:	vi	Johannis Wace de .j. virgata terræ.
		:	vi	Ejusdem de eodem Secunda; preter servitium Regale.
Hentun'		:	vii	Johannis Wace de .j. virgata terræ .xxiiij. acrarum. Et de quadam drova ad oves nostras
Hentun'				per medium pasturæ suæ super Hakepen. In ista continentur prima.
Hentun'	O	·:	xxxj	Confirmatio Walteri de Dunstanvill' de dicta Virgata terræ et Drova.
		:	vii	Confirmacio Reginaldi Waz omnium donorum predecessorum suorum.
		.	j	Math' de Cobumb' de excambio duarum acrarum et unius perticæ.
		·:	liiij	Nicholai Waz de .4 or. acris et pastura .4 or. Bovum.
		·:	liiij	Confirmacio Reginaldi Waz de eadem.
Hentun'		:	viij	Reginaldi de Caln' Militis de .j. Virgata terræ quam Walterus Faber quondam tenuit.
Hentun'		:	viij	Confirmatio Johannis Wace de eodem. Et de quitaclamantia Redditus .xij. denariorum quem inde recipere consueverat.
		·:	liij	Quieta clamacio Amiciæ uxoris Nicholai Waz de dote sua.
		·:	liiij	Nicholai Waz de tribus acris terræ in Wynterburn'.
		::	xx	Carta Johannis Wace de j virgata terræ reddendo annuatim iij solidos.
Hentun'		:	ix	Ricardi filii Willelmi de Hentun' de .xij. acris.
Hentun'		:	x	Hugonis de Hentun' filii dicti Ricardi de eisdem .xii. acris.
				In ista non fit mentio de servitio et demanda seculari sicut in prima.

* Each of these sentences has been drawn through with a red line.

Hentun'		:	xi	Item ejusdem Hugonis de .xxii. acris
Hentun'		:	xi	Confirmatio Michaelis de Columbiers de eodem.
Hentun'		:	xii	Ricardi filii Teobaldi de .i. acra in Castenes-furlang.
Hentun'		:	xiii	Matillis filiæ Willelmi de dono quod facit Robertus filius Samuelis de .j. Virgata terræ.
Heselbiri		:	xiiij	Samsonis bigod de la boxe de Quarraria de Heselbiri.
		:	xiiij	Sampsonis bigod de una acra terræ et quita-clamantia botarum pro una lessa.
Heselbiri		:	xiiij	Samsonis bigod de quadam alia Quarraria apud Heselbiri pro .i. pari botarum annuatim.
Heselbiri	o o	:	ix	Walteri Crok de tota Quarraria sua.
Heselbiri	o	:	viij	Henrici Crok de quadam area ad faciendum Quarrarium, quæ continet in longitudine,* latitudinem .ij. acrarum.
Heselbiri	o	:	viij	Henrici Crok de Duabus acris quæ jacent ex australi parte Quarrariæ nostræ.
Heselbiri		:	xv	Abbatissæ et Conventus de Lacoc de escambio cujusdam Quarrariæ.
Jettun'		:	xvi	Johannis Wace de Redditu .iiij. solidorum, percipiendo de terra quam Thomas de Culern' tenuit.
Jettun'		:	xvi	Confirmatio Henrici Keinel de eodem Redditu. Et de quitaclamantia .j^{us}. libræ cimini de eadem terra.
Jettun'		:	xvii	Donum Henrici†Keinel quod fecit dicto Johanni Wace de eadem terra.
Jettun'		:	xvii	Ejusdem de eodem dono; Secunda.
Jettun'		:	xviii	Henrici Keinel de quodam prato, et .l. acris et dimidia terræ arabilis, et pasture ad .c. oves, et .viij. averia, et de parco nostro in minori Jettun'; cartæ Duæ.
Jettun'				Finalis concordia .xvii.
		:	xviij	Henrici Keynel de quodam prato et xxxi acris et d[imidia]
		:	xix	Henrici Keynel de dimidia virgata terra et de donatione ecclesiæ in Majori Jett'.
		:	xix	Henrici Keynel de alia dimidia virgata terra in majori Jettun'.
Jettun'		:	xx	Adæ de Keines de .j. virgata terræ de feodo Henrici Keinel.
Jettun'		:	xx	Confirmatio Henrici Keinel de eodem.
Jettun'		:	xxi	Donum dicti Henrici Keinel quod fecit dicto Adæ de eodem.
Jettun'		:	xxi	Ejusdem de eodem; Secunda.
		:	xxii	Ejusdem de eodem; Tercia.
Jettun'		:	xxiii	Adæ de Keines de .j. virgata terræ de feodo Milonis de Keines.
Jettun'		:	xxiij	Confirmatio dicti Milonis de dono quod dictus Ada de Keines fecit nobis de omnibus terris quas tenuit de eo in Jettun'.
Jettun'		:	xxiij	Donum quod fecit nobis Milo de Keines de .vi. acris terræ arabilis.

* ? a word omitted here in MS.

† Erasure of word here, MS.

Jettun'	nota	:	xxiiij	Donum dicti Milonis quod fecit dicto Adæ de dicta virgata terræ et quibusdam aliis.
Jettun'		:	xxiiij	Ejusdem de eodem ; Secunda.
Jettun'		:	xxv	Item donum dicti Milonis quod fecit dicto Adæ de dimidia virgata terræ in parva Jettun'.
Culern' Jettun'		:	xxvi	Adæ de Keines de .ix. acris et dimidia, et de dominio Adæ Carpentarii.
Culern' Jettun'		:	xxvi	Adæ de Keines de quodam bosco in Manerio de Culern'.
Culern' Jettun'		:	xxvij	Confirmatio Eustachii de Wrotheshall de dictis .ix. acris, et bosco.
Culern' Jettun'		:	xxvij	Confirmatio Thomæ filii Willelmi de Culern' de eodem.
		:	xxviii	Ejusdem de eodem ; ija.
Culern' Jettun'		:	xxviii	Donum ejusdem Thomæ quod fecit dicto Adæ de Keines de dictis .ix. acris et bosco.
Jettun'		:	xxix	Nicholai de Cuintun' le Taillur de dimidia virgata terræ quod dictus Ada dederat ei.
Jettun'		:	xxix	Donum dicti Adæ de Keines quod fecerat dicto Nicholao de eadem dimidia virgata terræ.
Jettun'		:	xxx	Confirmatio Milonis de Keines de eodem dono.
Jettun'		:	xxx	Item dicti Nicholai de Cuintun' le taillur de dimidia acra terræ arabilis.
		:	xviij	Johannes Kainel tenetur nos acquietare de turno* vicecomitis, et omni exactione seculari.
		⁘	xlii	Galfridi Keynel de .xvi. acris terræ in majori Jettun'.
		⁘	xlii	Confirmatio Henrici Keynel de eisdem.
		⁘	xlii	Donum ejusdem Henrici Keynel, quod fecit dicto Galfrido Keynel de eisdem.
		⁘	xlij	Quieta Clamancia Rogeri de Evesham de .xij. denariis annui redditus.
		:	xviij	Henrici Keynel de .x. acris terræ in majori Jetton'.
		:	xxii	Henrici Keinel de Homagio, Redditus, et custodia Thomæ scutarii.
		:	xix	Henrici Keinel de quibusdam pratis in majori Jetton'.
		⁘	xliij	Henrici Keynel de quibusdam pratis et pastura ad xv. animalia in Jetton' et Holdeston'.
		⁘	xliiij	Henrici Keinel de ix acris terræ in Yetton' et in Holdeston'.
		:	xxxi	Henrici Keynel de omnibus terris quas habemus de eo de feodo Johannis filii Alani.
		:	xxxi	Henrici Keynel de omnibus terris quas habemus de eo de feodo Patricii de Chaurz.
		.:	xli	Henri le Oyselur de Rudes de Redditu sex solidorum.
		⁘	xli	Confirmatio Henrici Keynel de eodem Redditu.

* For an account of the "Sheriff's Turn," see *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. xiii., p. 105.

		:	xxv	Confirmatio Millonis de .j. virgata terræ quam Adam de Kaynes dedit nobis, et de dimidia virgata terræ quam Nicholaus le Taillur dedit nobis, de feodo suo.
		:	xxxi	Confirmatio domini Johannis filii Alani, Comitis de Arundel, de omnibus terris quas habemus de feudo ejus in Jetton' de Henrici Keynel, et quondam tenebantur de domino de Kyneleg.
		.	xxx	Adæ le Sumenur de dimidia acra terræ arabilis et una acra prati.
		·:	xxviij	Confirmacio Roberti Keynel de dimidia virgata terræ cum advocatione ecclesiæ.
		·:	xxviij	Confirmatio Roberti Keynel omnium cartarum patris sui.
		:	xxxj	Adæ le sumenur de una virgata terræ, et est de feudo Patricii Chavard.
		:	xxxj	Radulphi Sveyn de dimidia acra terræ.
		:	xxxj	Confirmatio Patricii de Chauiz, de terris habitis de feudo suo.
		:	xix	Carta Roberti Kaynel de Quietaclamatione de feoute sibi facienda [*sic*].
		:	xix	Carta Johannis Kainel de quadam pastura nobis vendita.
		:	xix	Institucio Ecclesiæ de Jettone.
Langeden'	0	.	ix	Ricardi Regis de pastura de Langeden' et Wika.
Langeden'	0	.	x	Johannis Comitis Moreton' de eadem pastura.
Landeden'	0	.	x	Comitis Willelmi Marescalli de confirmatione ejusdem pasturæ.
Langeden'	0	.	xij	Feliciæ filiæ Hugonis de Wike.
Langeden'	0	.	xij	Aliciæ filiæ Hugonis de Wike.
Chep B. Lamburn'	0	.	xxxi	Sibillæ de Plugenei de .iiij. virgatis terræ, et quibusdam aliis ; cartæ Duæ.
Lamburn'	0	.	xxxij	Sibillæ de Plugen' de .ij. acris, et pastura ad .c. bidentes et .iiij. averia.
Chep Lamburn'	0	.	xxvij	Confirmatio Jocei de Plugen' de dictis .iiij. virgatis terræ. Et de quibusdam aliis.
Chep Lamburn'	0	.	xxviii	Confirmatio ejusdem de eodem ; Secunda.
Lamburn'	0	.	xxviii	Confirmatio ejusdem Jocei de tota terra quam dicta Sibilla de Plug' dedit nobis in Lamb'.
Lamburn'	0	.	xxxiii	Sibillæ de Plugen' de burgagio quod Ricardus Schir' tenuit de ea. Et de pastura .ii. boum
Lamburn'	0	.	xxxiii	et .lx. bidentum. Confirmatio Jocei de Plugen' de eodem.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxii	Jocei de Plugen' de .vii. acris, et Redditu .vii, solidorum, et pastura ad .c. oves in communa.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxii	Jocei de Plugen' de quodam burgagio, et Redditu .iii. solidorum, scilicet Matildis Pille, .j. aver', ij porcos.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxiii	Jocei de Plugen' de Redditu .v. solidorum, et de Dominio duorum hominum.

Lamburn'		:	xxxiii	Jocei de Plug' de Redditu .iiij. solidorum, et .vi. denariorum percipiendo de Helya Mercatore. Etde dominio ejusdem Helyæ.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxiiij	Jocei de Plug' de quitaclamantia Redditus .j^{us}. libræ piperis de quadam terra.
Lamburn'		:	xxxiiij	Jocei de Plug' de quitaclamantia Redditus .iiii. denariorum de terra Willelmi fabri.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxv	Jocei de Plug' de servitio Ernaldi ad aquam, in Cheplamb' et pert. ad seculare infirmitorium.
up A. Lamburn'	o	.	xxii	Hugonis de Plug' de .j. hida terræ, et .x. acris, et decima .cc. ovium, et quibusdam aliis.
up Lamburn'	o	.	xxiiii	Hugonis de Plug' de .j hida terræ, et decima omnium ovium suarum, et cetera ut Supra.
up Lamburn'	o	⁘	xxvi	Hugonis de Plug' de .j. hida terræ, et pastura .x. boum, et .iii. vaccarum. Et de terra de Godewell'.
up Lamburn'		:	xxv	Hugonis de Plug' filii dicti Hugonis de toto Redditu quem Andreas Parfet solebat ei reddere de terra sua, et quibusdam aliis.
Lamburn' Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxvi	Roberti de Plugen' de .vii. acris terræ.
Chep Lamburn'		:	xxxvi	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem.
Lamburn'		:	xxxvii	Willelmi de Plug de confirmatione omnium terrarum et Reddituum, qui nobis donantur de feodo suo in utraque lamb'.
Lamburn'		:	xxxvii	Helye de Bello campo de Confirmatione totius terræ quam Radulphus pater suus legavit nobis cum corpore suo.
Lamburn'		:	xxxviii	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de tota terra quam dictus Radulphus dedit nobis habuit [*sic*] in Lamburn.*
Lamburn'		:	xxxviii	Item Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de omnibus terris quas dictus Radulphus de Bello campo dedit nobis. Et de pastura quam ipse Joceus dedit nobis ad .cc. oves et Duo averia.
Lamburn'		:	xxxix	Sibillæ de Plugen' de dono quod fecit Radulpho de Bello campo de servitio Edwardi hiliun cum tota terra sua.
Lamburn'		:	xxxix	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem.
Lamburn'		:	xl	Sibillæ de Plug' de dono quod fecit dicto Radulpho de servitio Siwar, et Walteri Oslac cum tenementis suis.
Lamburn'		:	xl	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem.
Lamburn'		:	xli	Sibillæ de Plug' de dono quod fecit dicto Radulpho de terra et servitio Willelmi fabri.
Lamburn'		:	xli	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem.

* This entry is dotted under, as if for erasure.

Lamburn'	:	xlii	Sibillæ de Plugen' de dono quod fecit dicto Willelmo fabro de .xii. acris terræ.
Lamburn'	:	xlii	Jocei de Plug' de dono quod fecit dicto Radulpho de eisdem .xii. acris et de servitio dicti Willelmi fabri.
Lamburn'	:	xliii	Willelmi hiliun de dono quod fecit Radulpho de Bello campo de .iij. acris et dimidiæ.
Lamburn'	:	xliii	Willelmi hiliun de quietaclamantia quam fecit Radulpho de Bellocampo de tota terra quam tenuit de eo in Lamb'.
Lamburn'	:	xliiii	Ernaldi Anglici de .iij. acris terræ.
Lamburn'	:	xliiii	Donum Alexandri filii Ingulphi quod fecit dicto Ernaldo de .ij. acris dictarum Trium acrarum.
Lamburn'	:	xliii	Donum Osmundi filii Gerardi quod fecit dicto Ernaldo de quibusdam terris.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlv	Henrici Anglici filii Ernaldi Anglici de .xiii. acris.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlv	Henrici Anglicii de .ij. acris. Iste .x. acræ sunt de .xiij. acris prioris cartæ preter unam tantum.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlvi	Henrici Anglici de .x. acris. Istæ duæ acræ non sunt in aliqua aliarum cartarum.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlvi	Henrici Anglici de Redditu .xii. denariorum. Et de servitio Roberti filii Walteri. Et de .ij. acris. Iste pertinet ad seculare infirmitorium.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlvii	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' doni dicti Henrici Anglici quod fecit nobis de tota terra sua in Cheplamb'.
Lamburn'	:	xlvii	Item Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' doni dicti Henrici Anglici de .v. acris in Lamburn'.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlviii	Willelmi Hiliun de Medietate Messuagii sui.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlviii	Willelmi Hiliun de .iii. acris terræ.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlix	Willelmi Hiliun de .j. acra et de Redditu .vi. denariorum.
Chep Lamburn'	:	xlix	Willelmi Hilium de Redditu .vi. denariorum.
Lamburn'	:	l	Helyæ Mercatoris de .xvi. acris. Et de confirmatione doni quod Reginaldus Stubb' fecit nobis de .j. acra.
Lamburn'	:	l	Ejusdem de eodem ; Secunda.
Lamburn'	:	l	Donum ejusdem Helyæ Mercatoris quod fecit dicti Reginaldo Stubb' de dicta acra.
Chep Lamburn'	:	liii	Ricardi Paregni de .vii. acris.
Chep Lamburn'	:	lii	Confirmatio Sibillæ de Plug' de eodem.
Chep Lamburn'	:	lii	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem.

Lamburn' Chep		:	liij	Johannis filii Warneri de .iiii. acris.
Lamburn' up		:	liii	Ernaldi le Mul de .ij. acris.
Lamburn' up		:	liiii	Andreæ Parfet de .ij. acris.
Lamburn' up		:	liiii	Walteri de Seclwurth' de Redditu .viii. solidorum. Iste pertinet ad seculare infirmitorium.
Lamburn' up		:	lv	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' de eodem. Et pertinet ad seculare infirmitorium.
Lamburn' Lamburn'		:	lv	Confirmatio Jocei de Plug' quam fecit Andreæ Parfet de .j. virgata terræ quam Walterus de Selcwurth' reddit ei, de qua percipimus dictum Redditum .viii. solidorum.
Lamburn'		:	lvi	Aliciæ filiæ Willelmi Stubbe de quitaclamantia omnium quæ ad ipsam pertinebant in Lamb' ex hereditate patris sui.
chep Lamburn'		:	lvi	Fulconis filius Warini de .ij. Mesuagiis in escambium cujusdam Mesuagii quod Robertus Clericus aliquando tenuit.
up Lamburn'	O	·:	xxiiij	Compositio inter nos et Decanum London' de Decimis unius hidatæ terræ in up lamb'.
		:	xxxiij	Memorandum de quadam convencione inter nos et Alanum Sauesat facta de Lambourne ad vitam cujus ter[m]i[nu]s preteriit.
		.	liiij	Adæ* de Poulton' de quietaclamatione juris quod habuit in terra de landenewyk. Cartæ .ij. una de .j. acra et altera de .xj.
		:	li	Anfredi filii Heliæ de una acra terræ arabilis in Cheplamborn', et de .xij. acris.
		·:	li	Joseph Mercatoris de tribus acris terræ.
		·:	li	Willelmi Edrian de una dimidia acra terræ.
		·:	lxviij	Roland' de .j. acra terræ in Lamb'.
		·:	lxviii	Aliciæ Stubbe de .j. acra terræ in Chepinglamb'.
		·:	lxviii	Aliciæ Joseph de .j. mesuagio in Lamb'.
		.:	lxviii	Willelmi Adrian de .j. acra terræ in Lamb'.
		·:	lvviii	Julianæ Alayn uxoris Stubbe, de .j. acra terræ in Lamb'.
		·:	lxxiii	Joseph mercatoris et Aliciæ uxoris ejus, de dimidia acra in Chepingl'. [terræ.
		·:	lxix	Johannis Le Ysmonger de excambio .j. acræ
		·:	lxix	Ricardi Ernaldi de excambio .j. acræ terræ.
		:	lxix	Radulphi Trabbe de excambio dimidiæ acræ terræ
		·	ii	Henrici Coleman de .xiij. acris terræ et dimidia, quas Ernaldus de aqua aliquando tenuit.
		:	xlij	Johannes Amfrey de .j. acra terræ.
	O	.	xxvi	Henrici de Bathon' de .xxv. averiis In pastura de Uplamburne.
		::	xxxiii	Willelmi Bristmare de escambio .j. acræ et dimidiæ.
		::	ibi	Radulphi de Haddel' de .j. acra terræ arabilis.

* This, and the succeeding entries relating to Lambourne, are later insertions.

	::	ibi	Quietaclamatio Willelmi de Cheynne de .j. acra terræ arabilis.
	::	ibi	Carta Matildæ relictæ Jocei Le Clet, facta Willelmo de Torri de .vi. acris terræ, quæ quondam fuerunt Ernaldi de aqua.
	::	xxxiiij	Willelmi de la Sale de escambio .j. acræ terræ arabilis.
		ibi	Quieta clamancia Rogeri La Warre de .j. acra terræ arabilis.
		ibi	Carta Galfridi Ingulf facta Waltero Rand', et Luciæ uxori suæ de una acra terræ.
	::	xxxv	Carta Roberti clerici de .ij. acris terræ arabilis.
	::	ibi	Confirmacio Johannis Anfridi de dono ejusdem Anfridi patris sui nobis facto de .xj. acris terræ arrabilis.
	::	xxxix	Willelmi Parfeet de vij. acris terræ et dimidia.
	::	xxxix	Item ejusdem de vj. acris terræ.
	::	xl	Ysabellæ et Aliciæ de .j. burgagio in cheping-Lamburn'.
	::	xli	Johannis Sered de redditu unius oboli quolibet altero anno.
	::	xxii	Robertus Scariot de Chepynglamburn' de tribus dimidiis acris terræ.*
	::	xxij	Robertus Scariot de una acra terræ in campo australi de Chepynglamborn'.
	:	li	Carta Jocei de Plugen' quam fecit Helye Mercatori patri Alfredi.
O	.	xxx	Confirmacio Jocei de Pl' de quodam burgagio de dono Sibillæ matris suæ.
	::	xlij	Robert Aleyn de ij acris terræ.
	::	xliij	Anfredi de .j. acra terræ.
		i	Johannes de Rothynge de ij acris terræ.
	::	ij	Joceus de Reymy de iij acris terræ.
	::	iij	Willelmus le blunt de j acra terræ.
	::	iij	Johannes Hobeson' de quadam parte domus et curtillagii.
	:	liii	Hugonis Le Skir de una acra terræ in villa de Lamburne.
	:	lviii	Roberti Fordwine de .xii. acris terræ una cum scrobatis quas habuit ex dono Radulfi Barri.
	:	lviii	Confirmatio dictæ terræ quam fecit Radulphus Barri dicto Roberto Fordwine.
	:	lviii	Item Confirmatio Radulphi Barri de dono quod Robertus Fordwine fecit Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Stanl', scilicet de terra quam habuit ex dono Radulphi Barri.
		lviij	Donum quod fecit Radulfus Barri Roberto Fordwine pro homagio suo.
	::	xxij	Confirmacio Willelmi Plugeney de omnibus terris de feudo suo Lambourn'.
	:	lix	Roberti de aula de .iiij.^{or} acris terræ arabilis quas vendidit Henrico le Chepman.
	:	lix	Confirmatio Roberti de aula de dono quod Henricus le chepman fecit domui de Stanlg', scilicet de .iiij.^{or} acris terræ arrabilis.

* This entry has been written over an erasure.

north Lidiard		:	lvii	Adæ le Franceis de quadam virgata terræ apud Sag'.
Lidiard		:	lvii	Thomæ de Clinctun' de quitaclamantia quam fecit nobis de eadem virgata terræ. Et de pastura Duorum boum.
Lidiard		:	lvii	Donum Ricardi filii Willelmi de Hettun' quod fecit dicto Adæ le Franceis de eadem virgata terræ.
		⁘	xxxix	Milisnt' de Sanforde de j virgata terræ.
	O	⁘	xiiij	Roberti Sar' Episcopi de viij [solidis ?] redditus ecclesiæ de lidiard.
Lia	O		vij	Donum Thomæ de Langualey de duobus solidatis terræ in chepmansled'.
Lia	O O	⁘	v	Ricardi de Esse de duabus acris.
Lia	O O	⁘	v	Confirmatio Roberti de Esse filii dicti Ricardi de eodem. Supra* in una de Chipmanesl'.
Lockeswell'	O	.	iij et iiij	Matildis Imperatricis et Henrici Regis filii ejus, cartæ Duæ.
Lockeswell'	O	.	xv	Patricii Comitis Sar' de Hethfelda juxta forestam de Chippeham.
Lockeswell'	O	.	xii	Confirmatio Willelmi comitis Sar' filii dicti Patricii de eodem.
Lockeswell'	O	:	xxviii	Nigelli de Stanleg' de terra quam habuit in dicta Hethfelda.
Lockeswell'	O	⁘	xiii	Stephani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis de quitaclamantia decimæ feni de elande.
Lockeswell'	O	⁘	xvi	Herberti Sar' Episcopi de eodem.
Lockeswell				Finalis Concordia de Eland' ; ija.
Nethemor'		:	lviij	Beatricis de Nethemor' de quietaclamantia totius terræ quam habuit in Nethemore.
Nethemor'				Finalis concordia, xa. de terra de Nethemor'.
		::	xxv	Henrici de Nethemor de quietaclamancia terræ suæ de [*sic*].
		::	xxv	Nicholaus Nethemor de quietaclamancia terræ de Nethemor
Merleberg'		:	lviij	Thomæ de Vpaven' de quodam domo cum terra pertinente ad illam.
Merecumb'		:	lviii	Willelmi filii Martini de terra de Merecumb' cum pertinenciis.
Merecumb'				Finalis Concordia .xia. :lviii Nicholai filii Martin de terra de Mercumbe.
				Hugo Hosatus de terra de Merecumbe cum pertinentiis Confirmacio Roberti filii Martini de eodem terra .iii.
		:	lviii	Nicholai de Boleuile de quadam terra et quibus[dam] aliis apud merecumbe.
				Carta Hugonis Hosati de Merecumbe quam dedit nobis .iii.
Migehal'	O			Henrici Regis ; ij.
Migehal'		:	lix	Roberti Treigod de quodam fossato inter terram nostram et suam.
		⁘	lix	Contra dominum Hugonem Le Despenser de Communa nostra in foresta de Bradene.
Migehal'		⁘	lix	Domini Philippi Basset de relaxacione thelonei in villa sua de Witun'.

This sentence afterwards drawn through by a red line.

Nethemor'		⁘	xlv	Permissio Philippi Basset transeundi cum averiis nostris per terras suas. Item ejusdem de quodam chemino nobis concesso.—⁘—lxv.
Preteschet'	o	.	xxi	Ricardi Sar' Episcopi de minutis decimis.
	o	.	xxi	Willelmi Sar' Episcopi de eodem.
	o	.	xxi	Willelmi Sarum Episcopi de decimis de presteshut'.
Quein'ford		:	lix	Bartholomei de Quein'ford de dimidia libra ceræ percipienda de Willelmi Luvel et heredibus suis annuatim de tribus acris terræ et dimidia, et de Domimio ejusdem terræ.
Quein'ford		:	lix	Henrici de Queineford de Redditu .xii denariorum. Michaelis Vicarii de Chirleton de xl solidis.
Ricardestone				Quære in fine libri.
Rusteshal'		:	lx	Michaelis filii Bartholomei de Vpaven' de .j. virgata terræ cum pertinentiis, et pastura ad .cc. et .l. oves.
Rusteshal'		:	lx	Ricardi filii Adæ le Blunt de Redditu .xl. solidorum, quem tenebatur reddere dicto Michaeli pro eadem terra.
Rusteshal'		:	lx	Michaelis filii Bartholomei de Vpaven' de dono quod fecit nobis de dicto Redditu .xl. solidorum.
Rusteshal'		:	lxi	Cyrographum inter nos et dictum Ricardum de dicta virgata terræ, et Redditu dictorum .xl. solidorum.
Rusteshal'		:		Finalis concordia de eodem ; xvia.
Rusteshal'		:	lxi	Item Dicti Ricardi de eo quod non diminuet hereditatem suam unde heredes sui non possint solvere nobis dictum Redditum .xl. solidorum.
		:	lx	Johannis de Rusteshal' de redditu .xx. solidorum.
Rusteshal'		:	lxi	Fulconis de Alneto quam fecerat Bartholomeo de Vpaven' de terra et Mesuagio quod Petrus filius Toni tenuit ; Cartæ .ij.
Rusteshal'				
Rusteshal'		:	lxii	Fulconis de Alneto quam fecerat dicto Bartholomeo de Upaven' de homagio dicti Petri filii Toni cum Catellis et tota sequela sua ; Cartæ .ij.
Rusteshal'		:	lxiij	Fulconis de Alneto quam fecerat dicto Bartholomeo de Vpaven' de Prato quod vocatur Dikedemor.
Rusteshal'		:	lxiij	Fulconis de Alneto quam fecerat dicto Bartholomeo de pastura ad .c.l. bidentes.
Rusteshal'		:	lxiii	Margeriæ de Caninges de quitaclamantia quam fecit dicto Michaeli filio et heredi dicti Bartholomei de Vpaven' de terris quæ fuerunt ejusdem Bartholomei patris sui.
Rusteshal'				
Sar'		::	xij	Carta de dono Roberti Hungeford de tenemento in Sar'.
	o	.	xx	Willelmi de Everwik Sar' Episcopi de .xxx. diebus veniæ. *

* Erasure of a line.

Stanleg'	O	.	xx	Ricardi Sar' Episcopi de .xxx. diebus veniæ concessis benefacientibus ad fabricam ecclesiæ.
Stanleg'	O	.	xx	Fulconis Basset Episcopi London' de .xxiiii. diebus veniæ ad idem.
Stanleg'	O	:	xxii	Abbatis Malmesbir' de cursuæ aqu subtus Abbatiam.
Stanleg'	O	:	xxiii	Prioris et Conventus de Fernleg' de decimis terrarum de Stanl' et Lockeswell'.
Stanleg'	O			Honorii Papæ de confirmatione ejusdem conventionis.
Stanleg'	O	:	xxviii	Nigelli de Stanleg' de quadam terra quam habuit ex occidentali parte Abbatiæ super ripam aquæ.
Stanleg'		:	lxiiii	Margaretæ filiæ dicta Nigelli de tota terra quam habuit in Stanl', vel habere possit per hereditatem.
Stanleg'		:	lxiiij	Confirmatio Godefridi de Stanleg' de eodem.
Stanleg'		:	lxv	Julianæ filiæ Nigelli de Stanl' de .v. acris terræ et dimidia. Et .j. acra prati.
Stanleg'		:	lxv	Item dictæ Julianæ de tota terra quam habuit in Stanl' vel habere potuit jure hereditario.
Stanleg'		:	lxvi	Confirmatio Godefridi de Stanleg' de eodem.
Stanleg'		:	lxvi	Item Confirmatio dicti Godefridi de omnibus terris quas habemus ex dono dictarum Margaretæ et Julianæ, amitarum suarum, in Stanl'.
Stanleg'		:	lxvii	Matillis filiæ dictæ Juliane filii Nigelli de .ij. acris terræ. Et dimidia acra prati in Gosi.
Stanleg'		:	lxvij	Confirmatio Simonis filii ejusdem Matillidis de eodem.
Stanleg'		:	lxviij	Godefridi de Stanl' de tota terra cum pertinentiis quam habuit in Stanl' ex hereditate Nigelli avi sui.
Stanleg'		:	lxviij	Donum Rogeri Acelin filii Rogeri de Lidelinz quod fecit eidem Godefrido de eadem terra.
Stanleg'		:	lxix	Godefridi de Stanl' de tota terra quam habuit in Stanl'. Et de confirmatione terrarum quas dictæ Margareta et Juliana dederunt nobis in Stanl'. Hæc est optima. pro hac solvimus duas marcas redditus.
Stanleg'		:	lxx	Confirmatio Rogeri Acelin filii Rogeri de Lidelinz de tota terra quam dictus Godefridus
Stanleg'				dedit nobis iin Stanl'. Et de omnibus terris quæ nobis ante datæ erant de eodem tenemento.
Stanleg'		:	lxx	Confirmatio ejusdem de eodem. Verbo ad verbum; Secunda. Finalis concordia .iija.
Stanleg'		:	lxxi	Godefridi de Stanl' de .j. virgata terræ quam tenuit de Thoma de la Mare.
A. Stanleg'		:	lxxi	Confirmatio Thomæ de la Mare de eodem.
Stanleg'		:	lxxii	Godefridi de Stanl' de Redditu .iiij. solidorum.
Stanleg'		:	lxxii	Godefridi de Stanl' de dono quem [*sic*] fecit filio suo de Redditu .iij. solidorum et .iiij. denariorum, quem a nobis recipere consuevit.

Stanleg'				Qui Redditus nobis relaxatus est et dicta carta liberata conservanda in testimonium quitæ clamationis dicti Redditus.
Stanleg'		:	lxxiij	Confirmatio Willelmi filii dicti Godefridi de Stanl' de tota terra quam pater suus dedit nobis in Stanl'.
Stanleg'		:	lxxiij	Ejusdem de eodem; confirmatio Secunda.
Stanleg'	0	:	xxv	Willelmi Blundi quondam hostiarii Henrici Regis de Redditu .x. solidorum de tenemento quod Nigellus de Stanl' quondam tenuit.
Stanleg'	0	:	xxiiij	Confirmatio Roberti filii Acelini de eodem. Et preterea de omnibus quæ dictus Nigellus dedit nobis de eodem tenemento.
Stanleg'	0	:	xxiiij	Venditio ejusdem Roberti quam fecit dicto Willelmo Blundo de homagio et servitio dicti Nigelli.
Stanleg'	0	:	xv	Simonis de Cokelberg' de .j. virgata terræ pro .j. mesuagio in Caln' ex dono Magistri Rogeri de Caln'.
Stanleg'	0	:	xvi	Petri filii dicti simonis de Cokelb' de eodem escambio.
Stanleg'	0	:	xvij	Item dicti Simonis de Cokelberg' et dicti Petri filii ejus et heredis de eodem escambio.
Stanleg'	0	:	xi	Confirmatio Walteri Crok de eodem escambio.
	0	:	xi	Ejusdem de eodem; ij[a]. sed non eodem modo.
Stanleg'	0	:	xxi	Rogeri Burel de .iiij. acris quæ jacent juxta aquam de Merkeden'.
Stanleg'	0	:	xxi	Rogeri Burel de quadam crofta juxta molendinum nostrum fulericium, quod Berleg' vocatur.
Stanleg'	0	·:	xxiiij	Mathei Turpin de .iij. acris et dimidia ex australi parte aquæ quæ currit juxta Abbatiam.
B. Stanleg'		:	lxxi	Thomæ de la Mar' de Redditu .iij. solidorum, quem recipere consueverat de Godefrido de Stanl' de eadem* .j. virgata terræ.
Stanleg'		:	lxxiiij	Nicholai Bubb' de Redditu .iij. Solidorum percipiendo de Redditu suo de Stanl'.
Stanleg'		:	lxxv	Thomæ Bubbe de quitaclamancia Redditus .x. solidorum.
Stanleg		.	ix	Thomæ Bubbe de quitaclamancia pasturæ .vj. boum. Supra in quadam de Botenedis †
Stanleg'		:	lxxv	Thomæ Bubbe de eo quod Warantizabit nobis dotem matris suæ in Stanl'.
Stanleg'	0	·:	viij	Ricardi Lucas de exclusa ad molendinum nostrum fulericium.
Stanleg'	0	·:	viij	Adæ Lucas de nova exclusa ad dictum molendinum. § Rogeri Bubbe de nova exclusa.
Stanleg'		:	lxxvi	Cartæ duæ, quas Hugo Longus, qui pro infamia homicidii relegatus est, habuit de antecessoribus suis de quodam Mesuagio cum curtillagio, et dimidia acra prati in Gosie.
Stanleg'				

* Interlined.

† This sentence has been scored through with a red line.

Stanleg'				Botenedis; Quære supra in ordine Alphabeti.*
Stanleg'				De boscis in foresta; quære supra cum Chippeham.* De pratis in frieremanneham; quære subbus cum Tuderintun'.*
		::	xxx	Johannis Lond' de quieta clamancia dimidiæ virgatæ terræ in Stanl' et .j. mesuagii et .ij. acris terræ in eadem uilla.†
		::	xxx	Quieta clamancia Johannis Bubbe homagii et servicii Rogeri Bubbe de terra quam de eo tenuit in Stanl'.
		::	xxx	Rogeri Bubbe de escambio trium acrarum terræ et dimidiæ in Stanl'.
		:	lxxv	Carta Rogeri Bubbe de redditu stanl', et molendini Jacob et Exclusæ full'.
		::	xxxj	Carta Adæ Harding de escambio terrarum et clauso de la breth.
		::	xxxj	Quieta clamacio Rogeri Bubbe de clauso illarum terrarum.
		::	xxiiij	Quieta clamacio et confirmacio Nicholai Bubbe de Somercroft et de aliis.
		::	xxiiij	Quieta clamacio Isabellæ de Ayshtone Relictæ Rogeri Bubbe.
		::	xxiiij	Quieta clamacio Nicholai Bubbe de Motura apud Jacobs Mulle.
		:	xii	Carta Regis Edwardi de Mora extra portam Abbatiæ.
		:	xi	Carta ejusdem de eadem.
		.	x	Transcripta Regis de dominio Regni Scociæ.
		::	xiiij	Rogeri bube de .iij. acris terræ et dimidia.
		::	vj	Rogeri ad la forde de .iiij. acris in campo.
		::	v	Margaretæ filiæ Nigelli de x acris terræ.
		.	liiij	Indentura domini Rogeri Tocotes.
		.	liiij	Donum Rogeri Tocotes in Stanleya.
	o	:'	viij	Adæ Lucas de terra quæ vocatur Cuttedelegh.
	o	:'	viij	Nicholai Lucas filii Adæ Lucas de tota terra quæ vocatur Cuttedelegh.
		::	lvi	Rogeri de Forda de .vj. acras terræ in Stanl'.
		::	lvi	Willelmi Harding de quietaclamatione communis pasturæ In crofta de Lanscroft.
		::	lvi	Rogeri de la Ford' de tota terra cum omnibus pertinentiis quam tenuit de feodo Abbatis de Stanl'.
		::	xxxiiij	Rogeri Bubbe de medietate cujusdam prati.
		::	xxxiiij	Rogeri Bubbe de una acra terræ.
		::	xxviij	Ejusdem de la Sumercrofte.
		::	xxv	Ejusdem de nova exclusa ad Molendinum Fullericum.
		::	xxiij	Johannes Turpyn de redditu xiiij .d. de Jacobs Mulle.
Saltharpe				quære in Costow.
SanctiSalvatoris in Hibernia	o	::	xix	H. Ossiriensis Episcopi de protectione Domus. Et de Duabus Capellis.

* These three sentences commencing *Quære*, lined through in red ink.

† This and the remaining entries for Stanley are late insertions of various hands.

Sancti Salvatoris				Comitis Willelmi Marescalli de confirmatione terrarum et aliorum quæ antecessores sui eidem Domui contulerunt. Hec carta est in quadam cass'.* (Sive lata archa.)
Sancti Salvatoris				
Sancti Salvatoris				Item cartæ .ij. de adjunctione Abbatie frigidi montis; quæ est in quadam pixide.*
Saveni		:	lxxvi	Abbatis de Saveni [*Savigny*] ut percipiamus vice sua Redditum suum apud Chiriel .scilicet. unam .Marcam. annuatim.
Stapleford	0	:	v	Henrici Hosati de quadam domo .et. .j. virgata terræ.
Stapleford	0	:	vi	Confirmatio Galfridi Hosati de eodem et preterea de .vii. acris.
Stapleford	0	:	vi	Henrici Hosati junioris de eodem et de vij acris.
vel Caneford				
Straford	0	.	xi	Willelmi Comitis Sarum de Molendino de Straford vel Caneford.
Sersthon	0	:	xxx	Donum Petri de Saltharpe de .viij. solidos et iiij. d'.†
Scaudecot'	0	.	xxiij	Hugonis de Plugenei de terra sua de Scaudecot'. Supra in quadam de Godewell'.*
Stodleg'		:	lxxvii	Alexandria de Stodl' de prato quod vocatur Langeham.
		:	lxxvij	Confirmatio Rogeri de Stodleg' de eodem. Et de quibusdam aliis.
Stodleg'		:	lxxvij	Alexandria de Stodl' de hameletto Jagardi, et Angulo Roberti longi. Et de quodam fossato retro grangiam suam.
Stodleg'				
Stodleg'		:	lxxvij	Alexandria de Stodl'. de quodam pratello. Et de confirmatione doni Roberti Northman de quodam prato.
Stodleg' (*des*)		:	lxxviij	Roberti Northman de quadam parte cujusdam prati.
Stodleg'		:	lxxviij	Confirmatio Alexandri de Stodleg' de eodem.
Stodleg'		:	lxxix	Hugonis de Cumbrewell' de licencia fossandi inter terram suam et pratum quod habemus de Alexandro de Stodleg'.
Stodleg'		·:	.j.	Willelmi le Wite de toto mesuagio suo et .iiij. acris et dimidia terræ arabilis.
Stodleg'		·:	.j.	Confirmatio Willelmi Scriptoris de eodem.
Stodleg'		·:	ij.	Donum Everardi de Chelfurstre quod fecit dicto Willelmo le Wite de eodem.
Stodleg'		·:	ij.	Confirmatio Edithe de Chelfurstre de eodem dono quod dictus Everardus fecit dicto Willelmo.
Stodleg'		·:	iij.	Acelinæ viduæ quondam uxoris Gileberti Forestarii de quodam fossato in Kingescrofta.
		·:	lvii	Alici viduæ de .j. virgato terræ in Stodl'.
		·:	lvij	Confirmatio Henrici burle de eodem.
Stodleg'				Botenedis; Quære supra in ordine Alphabeti.*

Cartæ quæ hic desunt de grangia de Stodleg quære supra in Costowe.†

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* These sentences lined through in red ink.

† In a very late hand.

Suttun'		⁘	iiij	Florentiæ Murdac de Redditu .x. solidorum.
Suttun'		⁘	iiij	Confirmatio Willelmi de London' de eodem redditu.
Suttun'		⁘	v	Andreæ Giffard de Redditu .ij. solidorum percipiendo de dimidia virgata terræ quam dedit Willelmo albo.
Suttun'			v	Donum dicti Andreæ Giffard quod fecit dicto Willelmo albo de dicta virgata terræ.
Tamisia	o	⁘	xii	Willelmi de Bocland de quadam crofta juxta molendinum nostrum.
Tamisia	o o	:	xiij	Matillidis de Say de eadem crofta.
	o o	:	xij	Domini Willelmi de Valence de la Dedelake Tamisiæ, quieta clamacio.
		:	xxxv	Finalis concordia Abbatis de Bello loco de cursu aquæ tamisiæ.
Tesewurth'		⁘	vi	Alexandri de Tesewurth' de quadam prato, et quadam terra arabili juxta domum suam.
Tesewurth'		⁘	vi	Willelmi a la lachemer' de Redditu .ij. denariorum de quadam acra terræ.
Tuderintun'		⁘	vi	Adæ Lucas de dimidia acra in frieremanneham.
Tuderint'		⁘	vii	Willelmi Sarezin de .j. acra in frieremanneham.
Tuderint'		⁘	vii	Confirmatio Adæ Lucas de eadem acra.
		⁘	lx	Philippi Basset de molendino de Tuderint'.
		⁘	lx	Nigelli de molendino de Tuderint'.
		⁘	lx	Nicholai de molendino de Tuderint'.
		⁘	lx	Nicholai Lucas de molendino de Tuderint'.
		⁘	lx	Rogeri Bubbe de Ricardo Noggar' nativo suo.
Winterburn'	o	⁘	xxvi	Comitis Willelmi Marescalli de confirmatione terrarum quæ datæ sunt nobis de feodo suo in Winterburn'.
Winterburn'	o o	:	xxvi	Item confirmatio ejusdem de una hida terræ quam Willelmus Clericus dedit nobis.
Winterburn'	o o	:	xxvij	Willelmi Clerici de dono quod fecit nobis de eodem hida.
Winterburn'	o	:	xxvij	Confirmatio Teobaldi de Winterburn' de eodem hida. Finalis concordia de eodem' .vij^{a}.
Winterburn'		⁘	viij	Alexandri de Berewik' fratris dicti Willelmi Clerici de .j. virgata terræ pro quodam burgagio in Merleberg'. Et preterea de .viij acris.
Winterburn'		⁘	viij	Ejusdem de eodem; ij^{a}.
Winterb'		⁘	ix	Item Ejusdem de eodem; iij^{a}. Istæ .iij. cartæ non concordant in omnibus.*
Winterburn'		⁘	ix	Confirmatio Willelmi Clerici de dicto escambio.
Winterburn'		⁘	x	Donum Julianæ filiæ Ricardi de Winterburn' quod fecit dicto Alexandro filio suo de eodem virgata terræ.
Winterburn'		⁘	x	Confirmatio Willelmi Clerici de eodem dono dictæ Julianæ.
Winterburn'		⁘	xi	Johannis de Berewike filii Willelmi Clerici de quodam Mesuagio et .v. acris.
Winterburn'		⁘	xii	Confirmatio dicti Willelmi Clerici de eodem. Finalis concordia de eodem .viij^{a}.

* Lined through in red ink.

Winterburn'		·:	xii	Donum dicti Willelmi Clerici quod fecit dicta Johanni filio suo de eodem Mesuagio et .v. acris.
Winterburn'		·:	xiij	Teobaldi de Winterburn' de .j. virgata terræ. §quæ terra dicitur fuisse de feodo Baryl.
Winterburn'		·:	xiij	Confirmatio Ricardi filii ejusdem Teobaldi, de eodem. Et de pastura sua super Hakepen.
Winterburn'		·:	xiiij	Teobaldi de Winterburn' de licencia colendi unam acram et dimidiam in pechehulleslede et aliam dimidiam acram quam habemus ex dono Willelmi Clerici.
Winterburn'		·:	xiiij	Teobaldi de Winterburn' de quadam crofta quæ vocatur Punfaude.
Winterburn'		·:	xiiij	Quitaclamacio Willelmi Clerici de eodem crofta.
Winterburn'		:	xxv	[Originally ·: xv but altered] *nota.* Ricardi filii dicti Teobaldi de confirmatione omnium terrarum quas habemus de feodo suo in Winterburn.
Winterburn'		:	xv	Ricardi filii Teobaldi de quitaclamatione relevii de .j. virgata terræ, (.ij.)
Winterburn'		·:	xvi	Ricardi filii Teobaldi de quadam parva crofta.
Winterburn'		·:	xvi	Ricardi filii Teobaldi de eodem crofta et .j. acra.
Winterburn'		·:	xvii	Rogeri Clerici de .ij. acris et de quadam parte cujusdam croftæ. (congnomine Baril.)
Winterburn'		·:	xvii	Rogeri Clerici de dimidia acra. (Baril.)
Winterburn'		·:	xviii	Johannis Blundi filii et heredis dicti Rogeri Clerici de dimidia virgata terræ. (Baril, fossata nostra.)
Winterburn'		·:	xviii	Confirmatio Ricardi filii Teobaldi de eodem.
Winterburn'		·:	xix	Donum Rogeri Clerici quod fecit dicto Johanni filio et heredi suo de eodem. (Baril.)
Winterburn'		·:	xix	Donum Teobaldi de Winterburn' quod fecit dicto Rogero Clerico de eodem cum Matillide filia sua. (Baril.)
Winterburn'		·:	xx	Hamonis de Bachamtun' de dimidia virgata terræ.
Winterburn'	O	:	xxxii	Fratrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Bristolliæ de tota terra quam habuerunt in Winterburn'.
Winterburn'	O	:	xxxiii	Confirmatio Teobaldi de Winterburn' de eodem.
Winterburn'				Finalis concordio inter Edmundum de Rocle et Willelmum Magistrum dicti hospitalis de tercia parte feodi dimidii militis cum pertinentiis.
Winterburn'		·:	xxi	Edmundi de Rocle de dimidia virgata terræ pro quodam burgagio in Merleberg'.
Winterburn'		·:	xxi	Ejusdem de eodem Secunda prolixius edita.
Winterburn'	O	:	xxxii	Confirmatio Fratrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Bristolliæ de eodem escambio.
Winterburn'		·:	xxii	Scolasticæ filiæ Ricardi Anketilli de eodem escambio.
Winterburn'		·:	xxii	Donum dicti Ricardi Anketilli quod fecit dicto Edmundo de Rocle de dicta dimidia virgata terræ.

Winterburn'		·:	xxiii	Rogeri filii Danielis de dimidia virgata terræ, et Mesuagio et crofta.
Winterburn'		·:	xxiii	Donum Ricardi filii Anketilli quod fecit dicto Rogero filio Danielis de eodem.
Winterburn'		·:	xxiiij	Alani de Sancto Georgio de .j. acra terræ.
Winterburn'		·:	xxiiij	Willelmi Quintin de .j. acra quæ jacet juxta Grangiam nostram in escambium alterius acræ, Et de tota pastura sua super Hakepen.*
Winterburn'				
Winterburn'		·:	xxv	Galfridi filii Ricardi de Ablevil' de Redditu .xii. .d. percipiendo de quadam virgata terræ.
Meidene Winterburn'		·:	xxvi	Willelmi filii Galfridi de .xv. sol. terræ in Meidene Winterburn'.
Meidene Winterburn'		·:	xxvi	Confirmatio Elæ comitissæ Sarum de eodem.
Meidene Winterburn'		·:	xxvii	Confirmatio Roberti de Poertun' de eodem.
Winterburn'		·:	xxvii	Confirmatio Rogeri de Langeford de eodem.
Winterburn'	o	·:	xxxii	Compositio inter nos et Herevicum personam ecclesiæ de Winterburn' de minutis decimus.
Winterburn'	o	.:	xxxii	Confirmatio Capituli Sarum de eodem.
Winterburn'	o	·:	xxxiii	Confirmatio Roberti Episcopi Sar' de eodem.
	o	·:	xxxiiii	Ejusdem de eodem ; ij^{a}.
	o	·:	xxxj	Rogeri † le Jeovene de Redditu .x. sol. de terra in Meidene Winterburn'.
		·:	liiii	Nicholai Waz de tribus acris terræ in campo de Ricardestun.
		·:	lij	Confirmatio Ricardi Teobald de eisdem acris.
		·:	lij	Donum Ricardi Teobald patris dicti Ricardi quod fecit dicto Nicholas de eodem.
		·:	liiii	Nicholai Waz de quatuor acris terræ et pastura ad .iiij^{or}. boves.
		·:	liiij	Item confirmatio Reginaldi Waz de eisdem acris terra et pastura ad .iiij^{or}. boves. § Quære in Henton'.
		·:	liiij	Johannis de Niwebur' de .iiij^{or}. acris terræ quas dedit Nicholas Waz.
		·:	liij	Quietaclamacio Amiciæ uxoris Nicholai Waz de dote sua.
		·:	xv	Richardi Theobaldi de quieta clamacione relevii de .j. virgata terræ in Wynterburn'.
		·	iij	Ricardi Thebaud de tribus acris et dimidia.
		.	iij	Ricardi Thebaud de una acra et dimidia.
		·:	xv	Ricardi Theobaldi junioris de quietaclamacione relevii.
		:	xvi	Ricardi Theobaldi junioris de quodam prato quod vocatur Grundelmed.
		:	xv	Ricardi Theobaldi Junioris de .j. acris terræ arabilis in campo de Ricardestun'.
		·:	xv	De communa cujusdam culturæ in villa de Ricardestun'.
		·:	xv	Reginaldi de Lavintun' et Emmæ uxoris suæ de escambio unius acræ terræ arabilis in villa de Ricardestun'.

* Red line of writing erased here.

† From this entry to the commencement of "Wiltun," in later hands.

		.	i	Ricardi Thebaud de .j. acra terræ et dimidia.
		.	i	Ricardi Thebaud de .j. acra terræ.
		⁘	viij	Quietaclamancia de redditu .ij. sol. quam nobis fecit Willelmus filiis Symonis de Berewik'.
		⁘	viij	Quietaclamancia Ricardi Quintini et Margeriæ uxoris suæ de uno denario redditus pro quatuor acris terræ quas Nicholaus le Was de Wynterburn' nobis dedit.
	.	⁘	xxiiij	Willelmi Quintin de quodam muro constructo apud Ricardestun' inter nos et ipsum.
	.	::	xxiij	Quietaclamacio Willelmi Quyntyn de redditu .xij. d.
		⁘	lxv	Philippus bassett transe[u]ndi per terras suas in Compton-berwyk et Wynterborn'·
	o	⁘	xxxv	Westokre.
Withihull'*				Quære in bluntesdun'.
Wiltun'		.:	xxxi	Philippi de Calestun de quadam domo ⁘ xxxi Dulcis de Curcell' de eodem. ⁘ xxxvii°. Nicholai Berzein de quitaclamatione Juris quod habuit in eadem domo.
Wiltun'		.	iij	Confirmatio Walteri de Calestun' de eodem. Supra in una de Aubree'.†
Wiltun'		⁘	xxxv	Cyrographum inter nos et Johannem de Vgeford et heredes suos de eadem domo. In una de Vgeford.†
				Finalis concordia .xij*.
		⁘	xxxvij	Willelmi Isemberd de quadam domo cum pertinentiis quam tenet de nobis. Reddendo inde Annuatim dimidiam marcam cum Hospitio abbatis nostri et cujuslibet nostrorum sumptibus nostris, cum ibi advenerimus, in Wiltone, ut supra.
Wiltun'		⁘	xxxi	Alicæ filiæ Radulphi Wiring de quodam Mesuagio in Nedlerstret.
Wiltun'		⁘	xxxi	Eustachii Isemberd de Redditu .xij. d.
Fugelstun'‡ Wiltun'		⁘	xxxii	Baldewini filii Baldewini de tota terra quam habuit in Fugelestun'.
Fugelestun'‡ Wiltun'		⁘	xxxii	Thomæ Capellani de redditu [.....*erased*] in Fugelestun'.
Westburi				Quære supra cum Heiwud.'† xxix ⁘
Wadele				
Wurth'	o	.	vi	Henrici Regis. §Reginaldi de Stanford de fossato apud Horswell'.
Wurth'	.	::	xxvij	Abbatis de Tama de Absolutione. Monachorum de Wurth' a subjectione sua.
	.	::	xxvii	Abbatum* de Buldew[as] Beyland et Quararie de testificatione cartæ de Wadele.
	.	::	xxx	Ricardi Curdi de quitaclamacione juris quod habuit in quadam terra.
	.	::	xxix	Michaelis de Waz de fossato apud Horswell.

* This sentence in a late hand.

† Lined through in red ink.

‡ In red ink.

	.:	xxix	Henrici de Marisco de escambio quarundam terrarum.
	::	xxvi	Abbatis de Thame de Quietaclamacione Juris sui in Wadele.
	.:	xxvi	Eadem carta sub sigillo Abbatis de Elemosina.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxiij	Willelmi Bastard de .ij. virgatis terræ.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxiij	Confirmatio Andreæ Giffard de eodem.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxiiij	Donum dicti Andræ Giffard quod fecit dicto Willelmo Bastard de eodem.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxiiij	Donum Roberti Giffard quod fecit dicto Willelmo Bastard de eisdem .ij. virgatis terræ.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxiiij	Confirmatio Helyæ Giffard de dicto dono (Roberti Giffard*) (de ij virgatis terræ Willelmi Bastard.†)
Vgeford	⁘	xxxv	Andreæ Giffard de Molendino de Vgeford.
Vgeford	⁘	xxxv	Cyrographum inter nos et Robertum Burzeyn et Uuilelmum fratrem ejus et heredes suos de .ij. Molendinis et .iij. virgatis terræ. (Et de quadam domo in Wiltun' ex dono Philippi de Calestun'.)*
	⁘	xxxv	Cirographum inter nos et Robertum Burzeyn et Willelmum fratrem ejus de .ij. virgatis terræ.†
	⁘	xxxv	Conventio inter nos et Hugonem de Vgeford de quodam mesuagio et crofta in eadem viila.
Withihull'			(Quære sub titulo de Bluntesdun'.*) (Quære sub titulo de blundesdun'.†)
	.	ij	Quietaclamacio Willelmi de Wasteuil'. de warda, relevio, et aliis eschaetis.
Wigt			(Quære sub titulo de Caresbroc.*)
Ricardestone	::	iij	Ricardi Thebaud de una acra terræ in Ricardestone.
Ricardestone	::	iij	De una acra terræ et dimidia nobis data per Ricardum Thebaud in Ricardestone.
Ricardestone	::	iiij	Ricardi Thebaud de una acra terræ in Ricardestone.
Ricardestone	::	xv	Ricardi Thebaud junioris de duabus acris terræ arrabilis in campis de Ricardestone.
Ricardestone	::	xv	Ricardi Theobald Junioris de quodam prato in Ricardestone quod vocatur Grundelmede.‡
Ricardestone	::	v	Hugo de la puria de terra quam ceperat ad firmam de Johanne filio Rogeri.
Ricardestone	::	xix	Richardus Thebaud de iiij acris terræ.
Ricardestone	::	x	De .j. acra terræ per excambium per Reginaldum de Lauynton'.
Ricardestone			[*These have never been filled up.*]
Ricardestone			
Ricardestone			

John Pierre.§

* These words drawn through with red ink.

† In late hands.

‡ This entry apparently erased and again allowed to stand.

§ In black letter, probably the name of a former owner of this book.

*Scripta de dote.**

Stodleg' Agnetis de Stodleg' Relictæ Roberti Northman de dote sua sua (*sic*) in quodam prato quod habemus ex dono dicti Roberti viri sui.

Jettun' Acelinæ Relictæ Walteri Keynel de dote sua in furlango quod vocatur Westwude.

Jettun' Ejusdem Acelinæ quod resignavit eandem dotem Henrico Keynel filio et heredi suo.

Jettun' Item ejusdem Acelinæ de .v. acris de dote sua.

Jettun' Ejusdem Acelina quod resignavit easdem .v. acras Henrico Keynel filio et heredi suo.

PART II.

Chronological Collections and Charters,

ILLUSTRATING THE

History of Stanley Abbey;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A LIST OF THE ABBOTS.

Abbots of Stanley.

1188.....Henricus obiit.

„ Willelmus successit. (Cellerar of Bordesley Abbey.)

1198.....H..... *occurs.*

1204.....N..... deposed.

1204.....Radulphus *occurs.*

1205.....Nicholaus, quondam abbas, *(becomes abbot of Buckfestlegh.)*

1205.....Thomas de Colestune, *al.* Calestune, *(formerly prior).*

1206.....*occurs.*

1214.....*occurs.*

* In red ink.

1229.....Stephen de Lexington, *(becomes abbot of Savigny).*
1230.....Walter *occurs.*
1245.....W..... *occurs.*
1268.....William Chinnoc (10th abbot).
1354.....William.
28th April, 1363.....John *occurs.*
1536.....Thomas *occurs.*

A.D. 925—940.

"Iste [Ethelstanus] tamen pacem teneri fecit in anglia quod torques aureos si exponentur in composito citius ibi putrescerent quam furto tollerentur. Iste dedit Winton' ecclesie capud sancti justi martiris, et tria maneria, monasterio eciam Malmesburie multa contulit in quo humatus fuit. Cujus corpus pia presumptione fratrum ejusdem loci de terra levatum et in feretro est reconditum."

[*MS. Bodl. Digby* 11, *f.* 157*b*,]

King Henry the Second's charter relating to Stanley Abbey. (A.D. 1186—1189.) MS. Harl. 84, f. 273.

"Henricus Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ Aquitanniæ et Comes Andegaviæ Abbati et universo Capitulo Cisterciensi, et omnibus ad quos presens Carta pervenerit salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod cum Deo largiente adeptus fuerim Regnum Angliæ repperi quod tempore Regis Stephani Ablatoris mei multa dispersa fuerunt et a dominiis regni alienata, cum in feodis militum, tum in elemosinis ecclesiarum Inter quæ Abbatia de Tame membrum quoddam manerii mei Ferendon' quod vocatur warda tenebat ex dono inimicorum meorum quod in integrum mihi resignavit. Sed quia fuerat religiosæ domui quoquomodo collatum ad petitionem Imperatricis Dominæ et matris meæ, et Gilberti tunc temporis Abbatis Cisterciensis et coabbatum suorum petitione et assensu dedi predictum membrum manerii mei Ferendon' warda vocata modo prædeterminato ex toto meæ resignatum Abbatiæ de Stanlega, quæ est de fundatione præfatæ Imperatricis Dominæ et matris meæ, et mea, et Monachis ibidem deo servientibus cum omnibus rebus et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad illud pertinentibus in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam possidendum. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod eadem Abbatia de Stanlega et Monachi in ea Deo servientes prædictum membrum manerii mei Ferendon', warda nomine, habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie, et integre, et honorifice, sicut meam dominicam elemosinam, In bosco, et in plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et vivariis, et piscariis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus locis et rebus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad illud pertinentibus. Teste H., Lincolniensi episcopo, Rogero et Ricardo et Nicholao Capellanis meis, Hugone de Morewich', Hugone Bard, Dapiferis, Radulpho filio Stephani Camerario, Roberto de Witef', Michaele Belet. Apud Wudestoch'."

1188.

"Obiit Henricus abbas de Stanleia; successit Willelmus cellararius de Bordesleia."

[*Annales de Waverleia*, 247.]

13th November, 1189. King Richard the First's charter to Stanley. (MS. Harl. 84, f. 273*b*.—MS. Harl. 85, f. 248.)

This charter is a very lengthy but comprehensive document, and very necessary for the history of the Abbey holdings. Dugdale only prints a portion of it, and that incorrectly. I therefore give it at full length.

"Ricardus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ Dux Normanniæ, Aquitanniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Baillivis, Ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Angliæ et Normanniæ salutem. Sciatis nos suscepisse in manu et custodia et protectione Abbatiam de Stanleg' quam pater noster Rex Henricus, et mater ejus, avia nostra, domina Matildis imperatrix fundaverunt, et omnem eorundem donationem eidem Abbatiæ Monachisque ibidem Deo servientibus, in perpetuam et puram elemosinam, concessisse et carta nostra presenti confirmasse, totam videlicet terram de prædicta Stanleg' quæ membrum erat manerii nostri de Chippeham, cum omnibus, pertinentiis suis, quæ reddebat patri nostro .xl.s., et Migellam cum omn. pert. suis, quæ reddebat ei .vij*l*., et Heilandam, quæ est juxta pontem de Lakoc cum omn.pert.suis, quæ reddebat ei .xx.s., et Wordam quæ membrum erat manerii nostri de Ferendon' cum omn.pert.suis, et Lokeswellam, quæ est in foresta de Chippeham, cum omn.pert.suis, sicut Carta patris nostri et aviæ nostræ testatur, et totum dominicum nostrum de Hedfeld' citra et ultra rivum cum .vij. hominibus ibidem manentibus, et de mortuo bosco in foresta de Chippeham, quantum necesse fuerit ad ignem Monachorum et ad corum edificia præparanda, cum necesse fuerit materiem in ipso bosco per forestariorum considerationem accipiendam. Insuper et pasturam et pannagium liberum et quietum sibi et prædictis septem hominibus in eadem foresta de suis dominicis porcis et animalibus et pecudibus, et pratum de Buninglege, quod est in foresta de Chippeham super ripam fluminis Havenæ, et diebus singulis inperpetuum iij*d*. de firma nostra de Chippeham. Concessimus etiam eidem Abbatiæ et Monachis in ea Deo servientibus, et confirmavimus terram quam comes Patricius dedit eis, totam videlicet terram quam ipse habuit in Hedfelda juxta forestam de Chippeham quæ pertinebat ad Wilcote, scilicet iiij solidatis terras ex dono Hugonis de Plugeneie, unam hidatam terræ cum pasturis et omnibus pert.suis in Humplanburna [*i.e.*, Up-Lambourne], et insuper decem acras terræ de Chieplande singulis annis et pasturam decem boum et trium vaccarum cum suis dominicis bobus, et virgam in bosco suo ad [caulas suas] faciendas et totam terram dominii sui de Godeswell' cum omn.pert.suis; ex dono Henrici Hosati et Galfridi filii ejus terram quam Faber tenuit in villa de Stapelford cum omn.pert.suis, et vij acras de dominio suo in Brecha de Sutamestona; Ex dono Hugonis Hosati totam illam terram de Mercumba, quam

ei Robertus filius Martini dederat pro servicio suo cum omn.pert.suis sicut eam Gervasius de Halewi melius et plenius habuit et tenuit; Ex dono Reginaldi de Paveilly dimidium nemoris sui in Hulwere; Ex dono Aewisæ Comitissæ de Rumare dimidiam virgatam terræ quam Orgarus de Ponte tenuit de [ea] in villa de Feltham; Ex dono emptionis Thomæ de Lanvaleie ij solidatas terræ quam Ricardus Le Louer in Chepmanneslande quondam tenuerat, et terram illam quam Ricardus Ches in eadem villa tenuerat; Ex dono Walteri Croch totam quarrariam suam de Haselberga a terra Sansonis Bigot usque ad antiquum fossatum et usque ad veterem viam; Ex dono Willelmi de Hogland terram illam in Penna quam Wimundus tenuit; Ex dono emptionis Rogeri Burel totam croftam illam quæ Berlege appellata est; Ex dono emptionis Simonis de Cokelbergia et Petri filii ejus totum redditum et quidquid juris habuerunt in illa virgata terræ quam Edwardus tenuit et postea Nigellus de Stanlege, totamque medietatem molendini de Pechinhilla cum omn.pert.suis; Ex dono Nigelli de Stanlega terram illam quæ Scinlege appellata est, et quidquid terræ habuit in Hedfeld; Ex dono emptionis Ricardi filii Lucæ clusagium unum super terram suam ad molendinum monachorum fullericum; Ex dono Willelmi Comitis Gloecestriæ quitanciam tholonei in Bristollo; Ex dono Roberti filii Martini ecclesiam de Blachedon' quam eis donavi in perpetuam elemosinam; Ex dono Magistri Rogeri de Calna burgagium unum in eadem villa; Ex dono emptionis Radulphi le Hedene mesuagium unum; Et ex dono emptionis Ricardi Widher masagium unum; Ex dono Walteri Pistoris masuagium unum juxta pontem de Calna, et aliud masuagium ex dono Adæ Cochk et quæcumque alia præfatis monachis in elemosinam donata sunt, sicut cartæ donatorum suorum testantur. Et quæcunque alia in futurum, pia donatorum vel venditorum devotione adquisierint. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod prædicta Abbatia et Abbas et Monachi ibidem Deo servientes habeant et teneant omnes prædictas terras, et omnia prænominata tenementa, et omnes res et possessiones suas, et homines et servientes suos, cum omn. pert. et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, cum socha et sacha, et thol et theam et infangenetheof, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie integre et honorifice, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et vivariis, in mariscis et piscariis, in grangiis et virgultis, in viis et semitis, infra burgum et extra et in omnibus aliis locis et rebus. Et sint quieti homines sui et servientes sui, et res et possessiones eorum de geld' et denegeld' et murde' et latrocinio, et de pecunia quæ ad murdrum pertinent vel ad latrocinum, et de cornagio et hutiban, et de scutagio et summagio et sciris et hundredis et sectis schirarum et hundredorum, et de exercitibus et assisis et summonitionibus, et de thesauro ducendo, et de auxiliis Vicecomitis et servientum suorum, et de omnibus aliis auxiliis et operationibus castellorum, et pontium, et parcorum, et murorum, et vivariorum, et de misericordia Comitatus, et de theloneo, et pontagio, et passagio, et lestagio, et stallagio, et tallagio, et de clausuris, et de werpeni, et haverpeni, et de thelthingpeni, et de blodwite, et de firthwite, et de hengwite, et de flemeneswite, et de essartis, et guasto forestæ, et reguardo, et placito forestæ et omnibus aliis querelis, et placitis, et occasionibus, et consuetudimibus, et de omni servili opere, et seculari servicio et exactione. Concessimus etiam eis omnimodam facturam propriorum hominum suorum sola justicia vitæ et membrorum nobis retenta. Præterea omnes dignitates et libertates quæ a præde-

cessoribus nostris Regibus Angliæ Ordini Cisterciensi concessæ sunt, eidem Abbatiæ et Monachis de Stanleg' concessimus et Carta nostra præsenti confirmamus, sicut Carta patris nostri Regis Henrici, et cartæ ceterorum Regum antecessorum nostrorum testantur. Et prohibemus ne aliquis eos vel homines suos vel res vel possessiones suos injuste vexet, vel disturbet, vel gravet, vel inquietet, vel molestiam, vel injuriam aut gravamen eis de aliquo tenemento suo inferat, et si quis super hoc eis vel hominibus vel rebus vel possessionibus suis forisfacere præsumpserit id eis sine dilacione emendari faciatis. Prohibemus etiam ne ponantur in placitum de aliquo tenemento suo, nisi coram nobis, vel coram capitali Justicia nostra. Teste Hugone Dunelmensi, Godefrido Wintoniensi, Johanne Baiocensi, Huberto Sarum Episcopis, Hereberto Archidiacono Cantuariensi, Willelmo Marescallo, J. Marescallo, Rogero de Pratellis, Roberto de Witef', Hugone Bard'; Datum apud Westmonasterium per manum Willelmi de Longocampo, Elyensis Electi, Cancellarii nostri, xiij die Novembris, regni nostri Anno primo."

2nd April, 1191. The charter of Richard I., as printed by Bowles, from Dugdale, is in MS. Harl., 84, f. 263, b. from Antiquæ Cartæ in Turre London, W. 6.

3rd April, 1191. Confirmation by King Richard I., (when at Messina,) to Ralph Fitz-Stephen, of the lands which the latter bestowed on Stanley Abbey and the King confirmed to the abbey by another charter (at Messina), which is printed by Bowles and Dugdale. [*Ibid, W.* 7.]

"Ricardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ [et] Aquitanniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Prepositis, Baillivis Castellorum et omnibus fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et præsenti carta confirmasse Radulpho filio Stephani, dilecto et fideli nostro, donacionem quam dominus Rex Henricus, pater noster, ei fecit, scilicet maneria de Winterburn', et de Wappeleg', et de Cudelinton', cum omnibus pertinentiis suis a se et heredibus suis tenenda in feodo et hereditate de nobis et heredibus nostris per servicium feodi unius militis. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod prædictus Radulphus et heredes sui habeant et teneant totam prædictam terram de nobis et heredibus nostris, sicut supradictum est, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre, plenarie, et honorifice, in bosco et plano, in viis et semitis, in aquis et molendinis, in pratis et pascuis, in vivariis et stagnis, et in advocationibus ecclesiarum, in homagiis et serviciis et releviis, et in omnibus aliis locis et rebus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis. Testibus Rogero de Pratell' dapifero nostro, Ricardo de Canvill, Willelmo Giffard, et pluribus aliis. Datum per manum magistri Rogeri Mali Catuli, Clerici nostri, apud Messanam, tertio die aprilis. (Anno regni nostri secundo, A.D. 1191.)"

26th April, 1194. A charter of King Richard I., to the Abbey of Stanley, granting pasture in Langeden, &c. (MS. Harl.,

84, f. 248, from Antiquæ Cartæ in Turre London, W. 4.)

"Carta Abbatis de Stanlega.

Ricardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitanniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Baillivis et omnibus Ministris et Fidelibus suis totius Angliæ salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Stanlega, et Monachis ibidem Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ servientibus et servituris, pasturam de Langeden' cum omnibus pertinentiis et Wikam cum pastura et omnibus pertinentiis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam: tenendum de nobis et heredibus nostris sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Reddendo eundem redditum quem eadem pastura reddere soledat videlicet .v. marcas et .xl. *d.* pro omni servitio per annum. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod idem Monachi et successores sui prædictam pasturam de Langeden' cum pertinentiis et Wikam cum pastura et pertinentiis habeant et teneant de nobis et heredibus nostris, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et honorifice, cum omni integritate et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad hoc pertinentibus per prædictum servicium. Testibus Hiis, H[uberto] Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, G[ilberto] Roffensi Episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, Willelmo Briewer, Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia, Magistro Philippo, Willelmo de Stagno. Datum per manum Willelmi Elyensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri. Apud Portesmuth', xxvi die Aprilis. Anno quinto regni nostri. (A.D. 1194.)"

June or July, 1198. H., abbot of Stanlega, occurs writing a letter, with other Cistercian Abbots, to Pope Innocent. The letter is printed at length in the *Epistt. Cantuar., p.* 423. (*Master of the Rolls publications.*)

Grant by Nicholas the Abbot, to Adam Revel and Walter de Porta, of land at "Pennam."

"Sciant presentes et futuri, quod Ego Nicholaus, Dei Gratia Abbas Stanlegæ, et totus ejusdem loci conventus, concessimus et carta nostra præsente confirmavimus Adæ Revel et Waltero de Porta, et heredibus eorum, terram nostram in insula apud Pennam, quam Willelmus de Ogland nobis donavit. Tenendam de nobis pro iii solidis ad festum Sancti Egidii nobis annuatim reddendis pro omni servitio præter servitium Comitis, quod prædicti Adam et Walterus et heredes eorum facere debebunt. Hanc itaque conventionem juraverunt prædicti Adam et Walterus super textum Evangeliorum coram conventu in capitulo fideliter se domui nostræ prænominatæ servaturos."

(From Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum,* p. 186, where it is stated that to this deed is appended an oval seal, bearing a hand grasping a pastoral staff, with the legend ✠ SIGILLVM ABBATIS STANL'.)

King John was at Stanley, as appears from the Itinerary of the King, (compiled by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, out of the rolls and

other muniments in the Record Office,) on Wednesday, the 25th October, A.D. 1200, coming from Malmesbury and Bradenstoke and passing on to Melksham, Winterbourne, Berkeley, and Gloucester.

Grant by Peter, son of Ralph de la More, of lands in Westcote and Lockesle, (British Museum, Additional Charter, 7498, 13th century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Petrus filius Radulphi de la more pro salute animæ mex et antecessorum meorum concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et Ecclesiæ beatæ mariæ de Stanle et monachis ibidem deo servientibus donacionem illam in Lockesle quam dictus Radulphus pater meus eis fecit, scilicet, totam terram illam cum mesuagio quam Edwinus tenuit et donacionem illam cum pertinentiis quam Robertus de Bello alneto eis fecit in Westcote, et omnes terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis quæ habent de feodo meo in Westcote et in Lockesle ex cujuscunque dono sint. Tenendum et habendum bene et in pace, libere, integre, et quiete de sectis, placitis, querelis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, guadiis, et omni servitio seculari et exactione, quæ ad me vel heredes meos de dictis terris et tenementis aliqua occasione pertinebant vel possent pertinere. Sciendum preterea quod ego predictus Petrus et heredes mei dictos Abbatem et monachos de Stanle, et terras et tenementa, et tenentes ipsorum de feodo meo in Lockesle et in Westcote adquietabimus de sectis in curia de Tyso et in hundredis Episcopi Wygorniensis inperpetuum. Ut autem hæc mea concessio et confirmatio rata et stabilis inperpetuum permaneat, hanc cartam eis fieri feci, et sigilli mei impressione munivi. Hiis testibus, Henrico Le Frankeleyn, Henrico de Ectone, Galfrido Obby, Johanne de Stanle, Symone filio ejus, Radulpho de Grattone, Symone de Bloez, Roberto filio Henrici. Et aliis.

Grant by Gilbert and Alice Digun, of lands in Cubintone. (British Museum, Harley Charter, 49, F. 9, 13th century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gilebertus Digun et Alicia uxor mea dedimus et concessimus . . . . deo et ecclesiæ beatæ mariæ de Stanl' et monachis ibidem deo servientibus in liberam . . . . elemosinam sex rodas terræ in territorio de Cubint' cum pertinenciis suis, scilicet, duas rodas in Wowelond' et duas rodas quæ se extendunt in oweynesweye, scilicet unam subtus viam et unam supra viam, et unam rodam quæ se extendit ad Merdene-brugg', et unam rodam quæ se extendit in mulwey. Habendas . . . . inperpetuum . . . . Hiis testibus Simone de Cubint', Thoma fratre ejus, Henrici filio Simonis Johanne de Stanl', Thoma de Finham, Ricardo de Colle, Henrico filio Matildis, et multis aliis."

Grant by Richard Trussel, of various messuages, &c. (British Museum, Additional Charter, 20,238, 13th century.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Ricardus Trussel dedi, et concessi, et

hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo, et Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Stanlega, et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, In liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, unum Mesuagium in Lokesle, quod Willelmus filius Baldewini tenuit, Illud scilicet quod jacet inter Mesuagium Johannis Le Gardiner et mesuagium Johannis Fabri, et tres dimidias acras terræ cum pertinentiis in uno campo in territorio ejusdem villæ, et tres dimidias acras terræ cum pertinentiis in alio campo, scilicet unam acram in campo versus Thordune ad culturam quæ vocatur "triginta acræ," et unam dimidiam acram super Romeshulle, illam scilicet quam Athelin Albert tenuit; et unam acram in alio campo in Wereforlonge ex opposito curiæ meæ quæ primo curiatur; et unam dimidiam acram in Schorteforlonge quæ se extendit in Campo de Welleburne, quam quidem dimidiam acram predicta Athelin Albert tenuit in escambium illius redditus quadraginta denariorum quos debebam et reddere solebam Dominæ Basiliæ de la more de terra de Cotes, quem quidem redditum prædicta B[asilia] dedit et assignavit prædictis Monachis de Stanlege in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, sicut carta quam inde habent testatur. Quare volo ut predicti Monachi habeant et teneant in perpetuum prænominatum mesuagium et prædictam terram cum omnibus eorum pertinentiis et libertatibus in omnibus rebus et locis bene, et in pace, libere Integre et quiete ab omni seculari servitio et demanda, salvo forinseco servitio si dominium illud dederit. Et Ego prædictus Ricardus et heredes mei prænominatum mesuagium et prædictas tres acras cum pertinentiis prædictis monachis contra omnes gentes Warantizabimus. Hiis testibus, Willelmo de Byssopesdone, Willelmo de Lodentone, Henrico Le Fauconer, Roberto de Mortone, Gaufrido Le Frankelein de Lockesle, Johanne Le Gardiner, Gaufrido Obbi, Johanne de Cloptone, Johanne de Gupmi, et aliis."

Inspeximus by Nicholas de Verdun, of a grant by Hugh Bardolf, of land at Horningtun. (B.M., L.F.C., xiii, 22.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Nicholaus de Verdun' ad Inspectionem cartæ Hugonis Bardulf concessi et hac presenti cartæ mea confirmavi Deo et Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Stanlega et monachis ibidem deo servientibus totam terram illam quam Hugo Bardulf dedit eis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in territorio de Horninton' scilicet quinquaginta duas acras in uno campo et viginti quatuor in alio campo et quinque acras prati de dominico suo, et unam acram ad mesuaguim faciendum, sicut carta ipsius Hugonis, quam inde habeant testatur. Quare volo ut prædicti monachi prænominatam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum pastura ejusdem villæ, et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus in omnibus Rebus et locis ejusdem terræ pertinentibus habeant et teneant in perpetuum adeo plenarie libere et quiete ab omni vexatione et exactione mei et heredum meorum sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et quietius teneri et haberi potest. Pro hac autem concessione et confirmatione dederunt michi prædicti monachi tres marcas argenti. In cujus Rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigillum meum pro me et heredibus meis apposui. Hiis testibus, Galfrido, priori de Wrocstan, Michaele balet, Willelmo de Waver', Osberto de Clinton', Willelmo de Staforde, Galfrido de simili, Willelmo de Essesho, Reginaldo de Wrocstane, Hugone de Huptone, Thomæ de Finham, Johanne de Stanle, et multis aliis.

Grant by Ralph de Bereforde, and Felicia Boscher, his wife, of land in Cubintone (B.M., Harley Charter, 46, A.32), thirteenth century.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Radulphus de Bereforde et Felicia Boscher uxor mea concessimus et tradidimus ad feudofirmam Abbati et Monachis de Stanleya totam terram nostram in territorio de Cubintone cum mesuagio et curtilagio et cum omnibus aliis ejusdem terræ pertinenciis, tenenda et habenda in perpetuum de nobis et heredibus nostris libere quiete et integre cum omnibus pertinenciis et libertatibus suis in omnibus rebus et locis reddendo inde annuatim nobis vel heredibus nostris duos solidos sterlingorum ad duos terminos. Scilicet ad festum sanctæ Mariæ in Martio, duodecim denarios, et ad festum sancti Michaelis .xiii. denarios et pro omni servicio et seculari demanda nobis vel heredibus nostris pertinente salvo tamen forinseco servicio. Pro hac autem concessione et convencione dederunt nobis prædicti Abbas et monachi viginti quatuor solidos sterlingorum. Et Ego prædictus Radulphus et Felicia uxor mea et heredes nostri totam prædictam terram cum mesuagio et curtilagio et cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis prædictis monachis contra omnes homines et omnes feminas warantizabimus. Hiis testibus, Galfrido de Symily, Wyllelmo de Essesho, Henrico Tysun, Simone de Cubintone, Henrico filio ejus, et Thoma fratre ejus, Johanne de Stanle, Thoma de Finham, et multis aliis."

Grant by Thomas de Ardena of land at Rucion'. (B.M., L.F.C., V.6.)

"Sciant [presentes et futuri] quod ego Tomas de Ard[ena] dedi Abbatie . . . . de Stanl' in puram et perpetuam elemosinam . . . . seilliones de Dominico meo Apud Rucion, illos scilicet qui proximiores sunt Molendino . . . . et ut hæc mea donatio perpetuam optineat firmitatem; eandem sigilli mei appositione confirmavi . . . . Testibus, Ricardo Labane, Willelmo de Bathekint', Stephano de Rait', Johanne filio Mabiliæ de Stanl', Toma de Finham, et multis aliis."

Grant by Hugh and Aliz de Ardena of land at Rotteleia. (B.M., Harley Charter, 45, C. 47.)

"Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris Dei fidelibus et omnibus hominibus meis francis et anglis, quod Ego Hugo de Ardena et uxor mea Aliz dedimus et concessimus in perpetuam elemosinam Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Stanleia et monachis ibidem servientibus unam carucatam terræ de dominio meo apud Rotteleiam et unam partem de grava mea, scilicet Cnihtegraue sicut Bradweie dividit, liberam et quietam ab omni exactione et servicio seculari, et hoc fecimus pro salute et incolumitate Henrici regis et reginæ et filiorum eorum et pro amina regis Henrici et pro nobismet ipsis et amicis nostris et animabus antecessorum nostrorum ut in societate et fraternitate cysterciensis ordinis hac elemosina et hoc beneficio participes efficiamur. Et hujus donationis testes sunt Rodbertus Capellanus, et Hosbertus de Ardena, et Chetelbern de Longedun, et Haraldus miles, et Helias."

A fine seal in red wax, representing an equestrian figure of the above. *Temp. Hen. II.*

Carta Radulphi filii Stephani de Wap[peleia] et de Cudelingt' (B.M., L.F.C., xxiii., 20), time of Henry II.

"Sciant tam presentes quam futuri quod Ego Radulfus filius Stephani dedi et concessi et carta mea presente confirmavi in perpetuam et puram elemosinam Deo et Abbatiæ de Stanleia et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro Dei amore et pro salute animæ meæ et pro anima domini mei Regis Henrici filii Matildis Imperatricis, et pro animabus patris et matris meæ et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute dominæ meæ Reginæ Alienor ac liberorum ejus, totam terram meam de Wappeleia et de Cudelintona cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, quam videlicet dominus meus Rex H. prenominatus mihi donavit pro homagio et servitio meo. Quare volo et firmiter statuo quod predicti monachi terram prenominatam bene et in pace possideant libere et quite, plenarie et integre, et honorifice, in bosco et in plano, in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et Molendinis, in stagnis et vivaris, in Mariscis et Piscariis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus locis et rebus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad eam pertinentibus, sicut ego liberius unquam et honorificentius eam possedi. Testibus, Galfrido filio Petri, Willelmo de Bocland', Adam de Greinvilla, Radulpho filio Willelmi, Hugone de Angiers, Ricardo de Axeuilla, Henrico de Berneres, Rogero Burel, Magistro Waltero Capellano meo, et aliis pluribus."

Appended by a bunch of red silk, an oval seal, bearing a lion rampant, green wax: " SIGILL' RADVLF' FIL' STEEF' CAMERA . . . REGIS AVF. I. A. Gr. [John Anstis, Garter]."

Grant by Henry and Milisent Boget of a rent at Cotes. (B.M. Harley Charter, 46, E. 54.)

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Henri Boget et Milisent uxor mea concessimus et Hac presenti Carta nostra confirmavimus deo et Sanctæ Mariæ et Abbatiæ de Stanleg' et Monachis Ibidem deo Servientibus In puram et perpetuam Elemosinam, donationem et elemosinam quam domina Basilia de la more fecit predictus Monachis In suo viventi, Scilicet Redditum quadraginta denariorum quos Ricardus trussel et heredes sui annuatim debebant solvere predictæ Basiliæ et heredibus suis de terra de Cotes, ad festum Sancti Michaelis, quos amodo solvent memoratis Monachis ad predictum terminum. Quod etiam carta dicti Ricardi trussel quam Monachi de Stanl' Inde habent testatur. Hanc autem Confirmationem fecimus dictæ Abbatiæ pro anima ipsius Basiliæ et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, et pro salute nostra et puerorum nostrorum. Et volumus ut sepedicti Monachi predictos denarios habeant et eis gaudeant libere et quiete sicut Ipsi qui nos et omnes nostros participes suæ fraternitatis et tocius ordinis Cisterciensis fecerunt. Juxta quod carta prefectæ dominæ Basiliæ quam Jnde habent monachi de Stanl' testatur. Hiis Testibus, Willelmo Bagot, Radulpho de Duluerthe, Willelmo de Stafford, Roberto Bagot, Gervasio de Walt', Magistro Rogero de Cherlet', Johanne de Stanl', et multis aliis."

Full-length seal of the Lady: "[SIGIL]LVM. MIL[IS]ENTE DE STA[NLEGA]" Endorsement: "Adam dec' de Lokwell, et de Vbenhal'."

Confirmation by Geoffrey Camerarius de Clinton, of land at Warlevescot. (B.M., Cart. Harl., 48, C. 39.)

"Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris dei fidelibus quod Ego .G. camerarius de Clint'. dedi et concessi pro anima pratris et matris et antecessorum meorum, et mea Salute, in perpetuam elemosinam deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Stanleia, et monachis ibidem deo servientibus, tres virgatis terræ, aput Warleuescote, liberas et quietas, ab omni exactione et servitio seculari, et hoc feci peticione Willelmi filii Radulfi qui eandem terram de me tenuerat, et eisdem monachis dederat et concesserat, et hanc donacionem, ut dominus, ubique Warantizabo quod si pro defectu auxilii mei perdiderint excambium ecclesiæ reddam, sin autem, quæ de Comite Warewic, qui mihi debet feudum illud warantizare, adquirere potero illis donabo. Testibus, Thomas filius armefrei, Henricus Boscher, Hugo filius ermefrei, Herebertus del ile, Adam boscher, Willelmus de Caleshulle, Simon de Stavert', Paganus filius gunnild', Rodbertus filius Leuriz, Rodbertus filius Cupping', Rogerus nepos abbatis, Rodbertus filius Tochi, Alexander de Finho', Willelmus Lihfot, Adam, Rodbertus de Chint', et quamplures alii."

Geoffrey de Clintun, chamberlain to King Henry, I., living in 1129. 1st Baron. Geof. de Clintun, s. and h., chamberlain to King Henry, II., living in 1165.

A.D. 1201, 1202. The incidents related in the following extract are illustrated and explained by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, in the Wiltshire Magazine, vol. vi., pp. 117, 119.

"MCCI. }
MCCII. } Fulco filius Warini fugit ij Non. Julii in abbatiam Stanleye in Wiltes, et ibi obsessus est cum sociis suis, fere ab omni provincia et a multis aliis qui illuc convenerant, quatuordecim diebus. Sed in pace ecclesiæ salvus exivit, et reconciliatus est in anno sequenti. Obit radulfus filius Stephani in die Sancti Jacobi Apostoli. Mcc.iij. obiit regina Alienor."

[MS. Bodl., Digby 11, f. 174 b., and B.M., Cott. MS., Cleopatra, A. 1, f. 174, col. 1.]

A.D. 1202. Some monks of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, in Wiltshire, seated themselves in the year 1202, at Lough-Meran, near Kilkenny, then at Athermolt or Athamolt, and lastly at the Vale of St. Saviour, otherwise Duisk, now called Graignemanagh, Co. Kilkenny, where a monastery dedicated to the B.V. Mary was founded for them in 1212 by William Marescall, the elder, Earl of Pembroke. This offshoot was dissolved before 1537, for on the 18th March in that year a pension of £10 per annum was granted to the last Abbot, Charles Mac Murgho O'Cavenagh. [*Archdale*, 353-4.]

A.D. 1203—4. Charter of King John. (B. M., Harl. MS., 85, fo. 26 b.)

"Johannes Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, etc., Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et et omnibus Baillivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos pro Deo et . . . . dedisse, concessisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Stanleya et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam . . . . consuetudines et rectitudines, quas Henricus Rex pater noster ibi habuit, salva Regali Justicia nostra, et Bruillum de Wethele, et Essarta de Hurst, cum pertinentibus . . . . xiij*l.* et novem solidos, salvo inde debito servitio castello de Kenylword', si quod inde debetur. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod prædicti monachi habeant et teneant . . . . bene et in pace, libere et quiete, etc. Testibus . . . . episcopis, G. filio Petri, Comite Essex, Willelmo, comite Sarum, Willelmo comite, Willelmo de Brahuse, Hugone de Neville, Data per manem Domini Symonis, Cycestrensis Electi . . . . apud . . . . Anno regni nostri Quinto."

A.D. 1204.

"Hoc anno circa pentecosten venit conventus novus cum proprio abbate de cisterciis in Angliam ad locum qui vocatur belli locus quem eis dedit Johannes rex Anglie, cum aliis terris magnis. Eodem anno rex Francorum Philippus subjugavit sibi fere totam Normanniam nullo sibi penitus contradicente. Hoc eodem anno electus est conventus novus in Stanleya in Wiltes cum abbate proprio, scilicet venerabili viro radulfo x kl' Augusti. Et in Hyberniam missus in provinciam ostricensis ad locum qui vocatur sancti Salvatoris quem eis dedit bone memorie vir Willelmus Marescallus comes de penbroc, cum aliis terris plurimis. Exivit etiam hoc anno conventus novus de Wburne, ad villam qui vocatur Medmeham super tamisiam."

[MS. Bodl., Digby, 11, and Cleop. A. 1, f. 174*b*.]

A.D. 1204.

"Eodem anno depositus est dominus. N. Abbas Stanleye a capitulo Cistercii eo quod duxerit conventum in Hyberniam absque licencia capituli. Eodem anno revocatus est conventus de Medmeham, et abbas de Wuborne depositus est propter eandem causam."

[MS. Bodl., Digby 11, f. 175.]

18th May, 6th John (1205).

"Rex Baronibus de Scaccario, &c. Mandamus vobis quod ponatis in respectum .C. marcas, quas exigitis ab Abbate Malmesbir' eo quod ipse processit in quadam causa in curia Christianitatis contra prohibicionem nostram, quousque aliud inde preceperimus. Ponite eciam in respectum .L. marcas quas exigitis ab Abbate de Stanlega predicta occasione quousque aliud inde vobis mandaverimus. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium xviij die Maij.

Sub eadem forma scribitur Vicecomiti sumersetæ } per Justiciarios."

A.D. 1205.

"Petrus de laroche factus est episcopus Wintoniæ. Obiit pie memorie Dominus Hubertus Wateir Archiepiscopus Cantuarie. Dominus Thomas de Calestune prior de Stanlega factus est abbas ejusdem loci. Nicholaus quondam* Abbas de Stanlege, factus est Abbas de bucfeste. Dominus Willelmus abbas de quarraria dimisit Abbatiam suam coram abbate Saviniaci in capitulo apud Stanlege.

[MS. Bodl., Digby 11.]

16th April, 1206. [Thomas de Colestun,] Abbot of Stanley, assisted at the public declaration of the exemption of the Abbey of Evesham.

[*Chron. Abb. de Evesham.*]

16th Nov. 9 John (1207.)

"Rex Baronibus &c. Sciatis quod perdonavimus Abbati et Monachis de Stanl' quinquaginta marcas, quas nobis debuerunt, eo quod Abbas, predecessor suus, processit contra prohibicionem nostram in quadam causa in curia christianitatis. Et ideo mandamus vobis quod ipsos inde quietos esse faciatis. Teste me ipso apud Flexel', xvj die Novembris anno regni nostri ix°. Et similiter mandatum est Vicecomiti Wiltesiræ."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

A.D. 1214. Thomas de Colestune, Abbot, occurs in Bowles, p. 119, from MS. Digby 11.

18th December, 16 John (1214).

"Rex Gilberto filio Reimfr'. &c. Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis Abbati et Monachis de Stanlay x. quercus in bosco de Hales ad edificacionem ecclesiæ suæ, et similiter de mortuo bosco rationabile estoverum suum ad focum quamdiu nobis placuerit. Teste me ipso apud Kilpek, xviij die Decembris."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

1st July, 1215. Receipt of jewels by King John, from the Abbot of Stanley, at Marlborough. [*Pat. Rot., Record Edition, p.* 146.]

1219. William Marshall, senior, a great benefactor to Stanley dies ——

"Apud Kaversham, cujus corpus honorifice receptum est a conventu de redinges cum processione sollempni, etc."

[*Cleop. A.* 1.,f. 182*b*.]

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* Bowles reads this word into a surname "Mendom," p. 119.

22nd Oct., 5 Henry III. (1222.)

"*De liberacione*] Rex eisdem (E. Thesaurario & F. & R. Camerariis) salutem. Liberate do Thesaurio nostro Normanno nuncio nostro eunte cum litteris nostris ad Abbatem de Stanlegh' ix.d. . . . . Teste Henrico . . . . apud Westmonasterium xxij die Octobris anno &c., V°."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

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16 March, 6 Henry III. (1222.)

"Rex Willelmo Briwer' salutem. Mandamus vobis quod permittatis abbati de Stanlegh' quod fodi faciat petram in bosco Comitis Willelmi de Mandevill' de Chiriel' infra forestam nostram de Chippeham et illam adducere sine impedimento ad operacionem ecclesiæ de Stanlegh, ita quod non sit ad nocumentum forestæ nostræ. Teste Henrico &c. . . . . apud Wintoniam, xvj die Marcii."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

28th July, 6 Henry III. (1222.)

"*De* xx^ti *veteribus roboribus datis.* } Mandatum est eidem Willelmo (Briwer) quod habere faciat Abbati de Stanlegh' xx^ti vetera robora in foresta de Chippeham ad focum suum de dono domini regis. Teste Henrico &c. (apud Malmesburiam xxviij die Julii.)

[*Rot. Claus.*]

14th January, 7 Henry III. (1223.)

"*De* x. *roboribus datis.* } Mandatum est Willelmo Briwer' quod habere faciat Abbati de Stanlegh' de dono domini Regis x. robora sicca non ferentia fructum vel folium in bosco de Chippeham ad focum suum. Teste, &c. Apud Wiltun' .xiiij die Januarii anno regni nostri vij.

[*Rot. Claus.*]

29th March, 7 Henry III. (1223.)

"*De* x *veteribus roribus.* } Rex constabulario Divisarum salutem. Precipimus tibi quod habere facias Abbati de Stanlegh' decem vetera robora non ferentia fructum vel folia in foresta nostra de Chippeham quæ ei dedimus ad focum Suum. Teste (Henrico &c. apud Marleberg' xxix die Marcii.)"

[*Rot. Claus.*]

28th March, 8 Henry III. (1224.)

"*De roboribus datis.* Rex Constabulario Divisarum Salutem. Meminimus nos alias dedisse fratri Radulpho quondam Abbati de Stanlegh' x. vetera robora non ferentia fructum vel folia in foresta nostra de Chippeham, ad focum suum, qnæ nec dictus Abbas nec frater Stephanus nunc Abbas ejusdem loci plene receperunt ut idem Abbas dicit. Et ideo tibi precipimus quod, si ita est, tunc tot fusta, quot eidem Abbati aretro sunt de numero illo, ei in predicta foresta sine dilacione habere facias. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxviij die Marcii anno &c. viij."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

30th June, 8 Henry III. (1224.)

"*Pro Abbate de Stanlegh.*" Rex Galfrido de Stavertun' Salutem. Quia nobis constat ex inspectione cartæ domini Johannis Regis patris nostri quam Abbas et Conventus de Stanlegh' habent, ipsum dominum Regem eis Contulisse manerium de Stanlegh cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, absque ulla retencione, tibi precipimus quod, omni occasione postposita, facias eisdem servitium quod facere debes de libero tenemento tuo quod de eis tenes in predicto manerio &c. &c. Teste Rege apud Bedeford. xxx die Junii anno regni nostri viii &c. &c."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

27th October, 8 Henry III. (1224.)

Order to Wymundus de Ralegh' to give the Abbot and Monks of Stanlegh' fifteen dead oaks in Chipeham Forest.

[*Rot. Claus.*, i., 628.]

27th October, 8 Henry III. (1224.)

Another grant on the same terms.

[*Rot. Claus.*, i., 654.]

26th July, 9 Henry III. (1225.)

"Rex Johanni de Fostebire et sociis suis forestariis de feodis de foresta de Savernac salutem. Mandamus vobis quod habere faciatis hominibus de Merleberga subscriptis quorum domus incendio consumptæ fuerunt cheverones ad domos suas reficiendas in foresta de Savernac et in boscis militum et virorum religiosorum infra eandem forestam sparsim per loca ubi competencius capi possint, et ad minus nocumentum forestæ nostræ, secundam formam subscriptam, videlicet . . . . abbati de Stanlegha, x cheverones . . . . ad domos suas reparandos de dono nostro. Teste me ipso apud Merleberg' xxvi die Julii. Coram Justiciariis."

[*Rot. Claus.*]

2nd August, 9 Henry III. (A.D. 1225.)

"Rex (Hugoni de Neville salutem). Sciatis quod concessimus Abbati et Monachis de Stanleghe quamdiu nobis placuerit moram quæ vocatur Alfletemore cum custodia ejusdem moræ ad capiendum de bosco ejusdem moræ rationabilem sustentacionem suam ad focum suum et quod possint moram illam fossato et haia claudere ita quod feræ possint intrare et exire sine impedimento. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod in propria persona vestra accedatis ad moram et eam eis assignari et plenam eis saisinam inde habere faciatis sicut prædictum est, et nobis scire faciatis per quas metas moram illam eis assignaveritis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium, ij die Augusti, Coram Justiciario, et Bathoniensi et Sarresburiensi Episcopis."

[*R. L. Cl. vol.* ii., *p.* 54.]

7th September, 9 Henry III. (1225.)

"Dominus Rex rogavit Hugonem de Samford quod in bosco suo infra coopertum foresta de Bradene concedat domino Regi .x. ligna ad maeremium ad opus Godefridi de Craweeumba ad reedificationem domorum suarum de Amenel. Rogavit et dominus Rex Abbates Malmesbirie, Eynesham, Glastingebirie, de Stanlega, et Priorem de Bradenestoke, &c., ... quod singuli eorum dent ei totidem ligna ad idem, et mandatum est eidem Hugoni quod ligna ipsa prosterni et abduci sine inpedimento permittat. Teste (Rege apud Oxoniam, vij die Septembris.)"

[*R. L. Cl., vol.* ii., *p.* 61.]

19th February, 11 Henry III. (1227.)

" . . . . Scribitur Vicecomiti Warr' pro abbate et Monachis de Stanle de libertatibus et quietanciis eis concessis prædecessoribus domini Regis quibus dominus Rex quædam duxit addenda sicut patet per cartas et confirmaciones eis inde factas."

[*R. L. Cl., vol.* ii., *p.* 172.]

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11 Henry III. Carta Abbatiæ de Stanleg, from the Registers in Turre Lond.

[*M.S. Harl.*, 6597, f. 24.]

2nd May, 11 Henry III. (1227.) Charter of King Henry III. to Stanley. (Harl. MS., 85, f. 85.)

"Henricus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, etc., Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Forestariis, Vicecomitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et omnibus Bailivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos inspexisse Cartam Regis Ricardi Avunculi nostri factam Abbati et Monachis de Stanlegha in Wiltesyr in hac forma, Ricardus, etc. [as given at length above.] Is erat tenor cartæ nostræ in primo sigillo nostro, quod, quia aliquando perditum fuit, et cum capti essemus in Allemannia in aliena potestate constitutum, mutatum est. Innovationis autem hujus testes sunt isti: Philippus, Dunelmensis Episcopus, Magister Maugerus Ebroici, et multi alii. Datum per manum E[ustachii] Elyensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri, apud Rupem Andeli ix° die Septembris, Anno regni nostri x°. Nos igitur hanc donationem et confirmationem ipsius dicti Regis Ricardi, avunculi nostri, ratam et gratam habentes pro nobis eidem Abbati et monachis concedimus et confirmamus Quod habeant et teneant pasturam et pannagium liberum et quietum sibi, et prædictis vii hominibus suis per totam forestam nostram de Chipeham de suis dominicis porcis et animalibus et pecudibus, et omnia alia sibi concessa per cartam ejusdem regis, avunculi nostris. Ita tamen quod præfati Abbas et Monachi de Stanle de cetero non capient nec capere poterunt in bosco nostro de Chippeham maeremium ad eorum edificia præparanda nec de cetero iij*d.* singulis diebus capient nec capere poterunt de firma de Chipcham, sicut prius eis concessum fuerat per eandem Cartam prædicti Ricardi regis, avunculi nostri, de quo maeremio in prædicto bosco nostro

de Chippeham capiendo, sicut prædictum est, et de quibus iij*d.* singulis diebus capiendis de firma de Chipeham præfati Abbas et Monachi nos et heredes nostros imperpetuum remiserunt et quietos clamaverunt pro mora et bosco do Alfletemore, quos eis dedimus et Carta nostra confirmavimus. Præterea concedimus eis et confirmamus terras et tenementa, pasturam et alia quæ habent de dono subscriptorum; de dono Joscey de Plugnay vij acris terræ in campis de Chepinglamburne, et pasturam ad .c. oves in communi pastura ejusdem villæ cum exitibus eorum, et vij. solidatos redditus in eadem villa; Item de dono ejusdem unum aver' et duos porcos quietos de herbagio et pannagio et iijs. per annum percipiendo de tenemento Elyæ Mercatoris, et quietantiam de iiij*d.* quos ei debebant singulis annis de terra Willelmi Fabri; Item de dono ejusdem totum jus et dominium quod habuit super Ernaldum Ad-aquam, et heredes suos, vel tenementa vel redditum eorum in villa de Chipinglamburne, cum quietancia herbagii et pannagii, et redditum iiij.*s.* et vi.*d.* annuatim percipiendum de Elya mercatore et heredibus suis de dono ejusdem quietantium unius libratæ piperis quam ei debebent de quadam hyda terræ in villa de Chepingl'; Item de dono ejusdem v.*s.* redditus percipiendos de Ricardo Walense et Johanne de Appelford' et Elya Mercatore et eorum heredibus, cum omni jure et dominio quod habuit in prædicto Ricardo Walense et Johanne appelford et Elya Mercatore et eorum heredibus; De dono Roberti de Plugenay totam medietatem pasturæ pertinentis ad terram suam in Uplamburne, et x acras terræ in Chepinglamburne in furlang quod appellatur Widecumbe; de dono Sibillæ Dinaunt burgagium quod de ea tenuit Ricardus Skerr in villa de Lamburne cum communi pasturæ et quietancia herbagii; De dono Eliæ Mercatoris xvj. acras et unam acras terræ apud Hodeling'; De dono Sybillæ de Plugenay communam sexdecim averiorum et duorum aurorum in communi pastura ejusdem villæ, et redditus xl*s.* et iiij*d.* in eadem villa; De dono Johannis filii Petri totam terram suam de Castowe cum omn. pert. suis; De dono Ricardi de Paringny vii acras terræ in villa de Cheaplamburne; De dono Ricardi Anglici xiij acras terræ in Lamburne, videlicet. vij in uno campo et vj. in alis; De dono ejusdem redditus xij*d.* percipendum per annum de medietate cujusdam Messuagii in Froggelan'; de dono Willelmi Beauvilayn' boscum quem habuit juxta Abbatiam de Stanle et unam croftam parvam quæ dicitur Uppelegh; De dono Elyæ de Bellocampo terram quam Radulphus pater suus eisdem Abbati et Monachis legavit cum corpore suo; De dono Warneri de la Hulle iiij. acras terræ in villa de Lamburne ad pedes Collis qui vocatur to-thindon; De dono Johannæ filiæ et heredis Roberti de Oseville totum illud burgagium cum pertinentiis in villa de Chipeham quod Ricardus Le Surreis tenuit; De dono Philippi de Colestone donum quam edificavit in villa de Wiltone prope molendinum abbatissæ cum toto mesuagio; De dono ejusdem totam terram quam Thomas frater suus tenuit in Calestone in loci ubi molendinum habuit et totum pratuum in Abreya quod vocatur Thoremede; De dono Garneri Maunsel redditus ix.*s.* et x.*d.* et oboli quem habuit in villa de Dereyard; De dono Godefridi de Stanle totam terram quam Amitæ suæ Margareta et Juliana habuerunt in villa de Stanleia; Et præterea totam terram quam idem Godefridus habuit in eandem villa et quicquid inde ad eum vel heredes suos aliquo jure descendere posset; De dono Johannis de Auchires iiij. mesuagia in villa de Calne quæ dedit eidem Abbatiæ cum corpore suo; De concessione Durandi filii Simonis unum mesuagium cum pert. in Chipeham juxta

ponten Avenæ quod Radulphus Le Franceys eis in elemosinam dedit; De dono Willelmi Bastard ij. virgatas terræ in Vggeford cum pert. suis; De dono Andreæ Gifford ad libros conficiendos molendinum de Vggeford cum omn. pert. suis quod Serlo tenuit; Item de dono ejusdem Andreæ totam terram cum mesuagio in Suttone quam Willelmus Blundus tenuit. Has autem donationes eis factas, scilicet ab aliis quam a prædicto Ricardo Rege, Avunculo nostro, prædictis Abbati et monachis de Stanleghe concedimus et confirmamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris. Habendas et tenendas imperpetuum sicut Cartæ et confirmationes eorundem quas inde habent rationabiliter testantur. Hiis testibus, venerabilibus patribus J. Bathoniensi et multis aliis. Datum per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicestrensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri, apud Mortelake, ij° die Maij, Anno Regni nostri xi^mo."

7th May, 11 Henry III. (1227.)

"Rex Hugoni de Neville salutem. Sciatis quod pro relaxacione quam Abbas et Monachi de Stanlega pro se et successoribus suis fecerunt nobis et heredibus nostris, videlicet, quod ipsi vel successores sui decetero non capient nec capere poterunt in bosco nostro de Chipeham maeremium ad eorum edificia preparanda nec decetero tres denarios singulis diebus capient nec capere poterunt de firma de Chipeham sicut prius eis fuit concessum per cartam Regis Ricardi, avunculi nostri; dedimus et concessimus eisdem Abbati and Monachis et successoribus suis moram de Alfletemora, et boscum per metas in carta nostra quam eis inde fieri fecimus contentas. Ita quod mora illa et boscus ille sint quieti imperpetuum de vasto et reguardo, salva nobis et heredibus nostris venatione nostra tantum, et quod liceat ipsis Abbati et Monachis moram illam et boscum illum claudere fossato et haya, ita quod feræ intrare possint et exire. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod de prædictis mora et bosco secundum metas prædictas in præfata carta nostra contentas quam coram vobis legi faciati ipsis Abbati et Monachis plenam saisinam habere faciatis, sicut prædictum est. Teste Rege apud Windlesoram, vij die Maii, anno regni nostri xj°.

Rex Vicecomiti Wilt' salutem. Scias quod libertates concessas Abbati et Monachis de Stanleg a predecessoribus nostris, Regibus Angliæ, eis per cartam nostram confirmavimus. Et ideo tibi præcipimus quod confirmationem nostram eis inde factam in pleno Comitatu tuo legi facias, et prædictis libertatibus, quibus temporibus Henrici Regis, avi nostri, Ricardi Regis, avunculi nostri, et domini Johannis Regis, patris nostri, tempore pacis usi sunt; eos uti permittas. Teste ut supra."

[*R. L. C., vol.* ii., *p.* 185.]

1st June, 11 Henry III. (1227.)

"Mandatum est Vicecomiti Warr. Quod permittat Abbatem de Stanlega talem saisinam de bosco suo de Stanle cum pertinentiis quem habet de dono domini Johannis Regis, qualem inde habuit antequam dominus Rex ei concessit comitatum illum custodiendum. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium j°. die Junii."

[*R. L. C., vol.* ii., *p.* 188.]

A.D. 1206—1228.

(British Museum, L. F. Campbell Charter, xxii., 13.)

"Stephani Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis de compositione inter Monachis Stanle et Robertum de Gloucestria, personam de Lachoc, de decimis feni de Elande. Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. S. dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Tocius Angliæ Primas, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, Salutem in domino. Ne finita semel amicabili composicione negocia, per oblivionis incommodum in redivivam deveniant questionem: modum composicionis ejusdem scripturæ duximus commendandum, quæ commissam sibi fideliter servat, et immutabiliter eloquitur veritatem. Hinc est quod ad universitatis vestræ noticiam volumus pervenire, quod cum inter dilectos filios nostros abbatem et conventum de Stanlega ex una parte, et Robertum de Gloucestria, rectorem ecclesiæ de Lacog ex altera, super decima feni prati dominici de Elande, controversia uteretur, dicto R. eandem decimam sibi et ecclesiæ suæ de Lacog vendicante, et memoratis Abbate et monachis econtra asserentibus se ab ejusdem prestacione per privilegia apostolica fuisse penitus absolutos: licet per eundum R. ea fuissent minus racionabiliter spoliati: et eadem causa ad nostram tandem per appellacionem audienciam devenisset: constitutis coram nobis pluries partibus, et post litis contestacionem testes coram nobis utraque super asserciono suæ producentibus: tandem postquam publicate sunt attestaciones, sub hac pacis forma fide media utrunque data Lis quievit inter eos. Memoratus Robertus quia ex privilegiis apostolicis eorundem monachorum intellexit, quod eis per eadem privilegia in retencione prædictæ decimæ feni sufficientes fuerat prospectum: eis ulterius super eisdem adversari noluit, sed tam ipsam decimam quam dicti prati de Elande communem pasturam quam in curia Domini Regis ab eis evicerat: eis libera et spontanea voluntate remisit, renuncians imperpetuum omni juri quod sibi et ecclesiæ sua in eadem tam decima quam pastura vendicarat. Cui sepedicti abbas et conventus, in recompensacionem pasturæ dimissæ tanquam annuum et perpetuum redditum ecclesiæ de Lacog, duodecim denarios singulis annis in festo Sancti Ciriaci, super altare Ecclesiæ ex parte abbatis et conventus offerendos concesserunt. Et preterea in recompensacionem expensarum quod idem R. se in lite illa defendendo fecerat; sex marcas eidem numeraverunt. De quibus condicionem Ecclesiæ suæ sive in alia pastura sive in alia quacumque possessione quam ecclesiæ suæ viderit expedire comparanda: debuit sicut concessit meliorare. Quod ne in posterum alicui venire possit in dubium: hoc presenti scripto sigilli nostri apposicione munito: duximus protestandum. Hiis testibus, Magistro Willelmo de Bardene, Magistro Adam de Tilneia, Roberto de Bristollia, Magistro Willelmo de Beautone, Willelmo de Bosco, Johanne de Waltham, Vincencio de Norwico, et multis aliis."

A.D. 1229.

"Magister, Stephanus de Lexintona, abbas de Stanleia, factus visitator ordinis in Hibernia, multos abbates deposuit, et Anglicos eis substituit, et monachos plurimos de Hibernia transmisit in provinciam Gallicanam; et paullo post idem Stephanus in abbatem de Saveni [Savigni] sollemniter est assumptus."

[*Annales de Dunstaplia, Master of the Rolls' publications.*]

A.D. 1229.

"Stephanus abbas de Stanleia factus est abbas de Saviniaco."

[*Annales de Waverleia.*]

This man may have been the Stephanus de Lexington, who was presented by King John, on the 23rd May, 1215, (sede vacante) to the prebend of *Scrophull* and *Oxton*, or *Oxton pars secunda*, in the deanery of Southwell.

A.D. 1230, Vigil of the Feast of St. Mary.

Walter, Abbot of Stanley, occurs in the Malmesbury Chartulary, in the Record Office, folio 188 b., and MS. Lansdowne, in British Museum, 417, f. 90. [See W. de G. Birch on "The Succession of the Abbots of Malmesbury," in the "Journal of the British Archæological Association," vol. xxvii., p. 330*n*.]

"Pagina" of W. de Cumba, (Combe, in Co. Warwick,) W. de Stanleia, and O. de Alencestria, (Alcester, Co. Warwick,) abbates, reciting a rescript from Pope Innocent (III). Dat. v. kal. Julij a°. pont. iij. (27th June, 1245), determining a cause between the Canons of St. James, Northampton, and W. de Roverio, Persona Ecclesie de Stokes. (B. M., Additional Charter, 6109.) This may be Stanley Park, or Stanley in the Dale, Co. Derby.

A.D. 1246.

"Terremotus factus est magnus et horribilis, x°. Kl' Marcii. M.cc.xlvij. Ingressus est conventus de Stanleye in Wiltes, novum monasterium."

[*MS. Digby* 11, *f.* 184.]

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37 Henry III.

"Pat. pro abbate de Stanlegh quod dominici canes Abbatiæ suæ ac omnium grangiarum suarum quas habet infra metis forestæ non expeditentur, etc."

[*C. P. R.*, *p.* 26.]

19th October, 43 Henry III. (1259.)

"Fratres de Stanlegh in Ardern, spreto habitu suo, et professione sua, ordinem Cisterciensem egressi, vagantes per plures comitatus regni arrestari jubet rex."

[*MS. Harl.*, 6957, *f.* 69.]

"Patentes de fratribus Apostatis de Stanlegh arrestandis."

[*C. R. P.*, *p.* 31.]

50 Henry III.

"Exemplificatio libri de domesday, pro Abbate de Stanley de manerio de S. in Co. Warr."

[*C. P. R., p.* 38.]

A.D. 1266.

"Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleye in Wiltesyre a domino Waltero de la Wile, tunc Sarum episcopo. Cujus anima per misericordiam dei in pace requiescat."

[*MS. Bodl., Digby,* 11, *f.* 187.]

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6 Kal. April, 1268.

"Obiit Dompnus Willelmus Chinnoc x^us^ abbas Stanlege in Wiltes cujus memoria in benedictione sit in eternum, Amen, vj Kl' Aprilis."

[*MS. Digby* 11, *f.* 187.]

A.D. 1269.

"Johannes dictus de Suthun Clericus, Hugo de Caudewelle, Robertus de Weresle, et quidam Galfridus socius eorum, qui fuerant ad roberiam abbatiæ de Stanle, sæpius apud Dunstaple divertebant. Et cum obsessi essent undique et capiendi, Johannes clericus affugit ad ecclesiam nostram, et inde abjuravit regnum Angliæ; et apud Oxoniam postea interfectus est, sine sacramentis ecclesiasticis, Tres vero socii ejus capti sunt &c."

[*Annales de Dunstaplia, p.* 252.]

A.D. 1270.

"Eodem anno intravit conventus de Stanleye in Wiltes novum refectorium, scilicet die beati Johannis baptiste."

[*MS. Bodl., Digby* 11.]

Uncertain. Henry III.

"Abbas de Stanleya. Stanleya maner. *Warr.*"

A.D. 1271.

"Obiit Philippus Basseth in fine mensis Octobris, et sepultus est apud Stanlege."

[*Annales de Wintonia,* 111.]

Uncertain date, *temp.* Henry III.

"Abbas et conventus de Stanleya: de tallagio manerii de Stanleya."

[*Calend. Genealog.,* i., 171.]

King Edward I. witnessed several documents at Stanley, as may be gathered from the Itinerary of that king compiled by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, out of a large number of miscellaneous rolls, records, manuscripts and printed works. This itinerary is printed in the "Collectanea Archæologica" of the British Arch. Association.

The dates shewing the king's visits to the place are:—

1282. 10 Edward I.

March 22, 23, Malmesbury.
„ 24, Stanlegh.
„ 25, Stanford, Stanley.
„ 26, Stanley.
March 28, to April 18, Devizes.
April 23, 24, Stanley.
„ 30, Gloucester.

Rotulus Walliæ, 11 Edward I.

"Protectio pro Johanne de Merston, persona ecclesiæ de olivestede, H.* T. T. Sancti Laurentii in Lucina Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinale, Abbate de Stanley, et Martino de Chamberion, Persona Ecclesiæ de Stratton. Apud Rothelan', 8 Dec."

[*Calendars of the Ancient Charters, &c., and of the Welch and Scotish Rolls now remaining in the Tower of London, by T. Astle London, 4to,* 1772.]

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13 Edward I.

"Abbas de Stanlegh. More bosc' infra forest' de Chippeham includend'."

[*Inq. p. m., p.* 88.]

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13 Edward I.

"Inquisitio ad quod damnum," an indication that there was a change of the abbot at this time.

[*Calend. Genealog.*, i., 365.]

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14 Edward I.

"Thomas de Ardern, pro abbate de Stanleye; Botteleye, advocatio Ecclesiæ, co. Warr."

[*Inq. p. m., vol.* iv., *p.* 427.]

This may not be Stanley, but Stonelegh.

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*Hugo "Atratus" de Evesham, Titulo *Sancti Laurentii in Lucina* Cardinalis. For an account of this illustrious and scientific divine, see Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 418; Ciaconius, *Vitæ Pontificum*, vol. ii., col. 239. He died at Rome in 1287.

1291. Entries in Pope Nicholas's Taxation relating to Stanlegh:—

"TEMPORALIA.

		£	s.	d.
Dioc. Sarum.	in Ruteshalle	1	0	0
	in Stapelforde		8	0
	in Decanatu Abingdon	47	3	4
	in Decanatu Newbur.	8	2	6
	in Marleberg		2	0
	in Langedeneswith	9	3	4
	apud Ricardeston	8	13	4
	in Stodley	11	10	0
	in Yattone	7	13	4
	in Lockeswell	4	10	0
Dioc. Wigorn:	apud Cuderinton in redditu & ter ris	13	11	8½"

1291.

"SPIRITUALIA.

	s.	d.
Porcio in ecclesia de Lamburn	6	8"

[*Dugdale.*]

1293—4. 22 Edward I.

"Abbas de Stanlegh. Licencia fodendi miner' ferri in dominicis terris suis in foresta de Chyppeham."

[*Inq. p. m., p.* 121.]

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22 Edward I. "Inquisitio ad quod damnum," a change of abbot.

[*Calend. Genealog.*, ii., 487.]

1296—7. 25 Edward I.

"Abbas de Stanley, in Radwey, co. Warr., tenet 8^{vam} partem unius feodi."

[*Inq. p. m., p.* 139.]

1303—4. 32 Edward I.

"Quod Abbas de S. teneat imperpetuum 211 acras de vastis forestæ de Pevesham pro redditu 6*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*"

[*C. P. R., p.* 64.]

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22 June, 1 Edward II. King's writ of Confirmation of the privileges of the citizens of London, *tested* at Stanleye.

The Itinerary of Edward II., compiled by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, shews the following route of the King:—

1308, June 20, Marlborough, June 22, Marlborough & Stanley.
" 21, Stanley. " 23, Bristol.

1310—11. 4 Edward II.

"Pat. pro Abbate de S."

[*C. P. R., p.* 71.]

1311—12. 5 Edward II.

"Robertus de Hungerford, pro Abbate de Stanlege, Nova Sarum, unum mesuagium cum pertinentiis.
Caleston manerium 40 librat'. terræ ibidem remanent eidem Roberto."

[*Inq., p.* 45.]

1323—4. 17 Edward II.

"Pat. pro Abbate de S."

[*C. P. R., p.* 93.]

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17 Edward III.

"Pat. pro Abbate de S."

[*Ibid, p.* 145.]

1351. 25 Edward III.

"Rex exoneravit Abbatem de Stanlee de reparatione cujusdem viæ in solo ipsius Abbatis in Hundredo de Kingesbridge vocatæ Saltharpesway in comitatu Wiltes."

[*Ibid, p.* 161.]

1354. 28 Edward III.

A deed in the Augmentation Office contains the name and seal of Abbot William.

[*Wilts Mag.*, iii., 270.]

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28 April, 1363.

"Rex concessit Abbati de Stanley imperpetuum proficium de navibus piscatorum villæ de Rye ad Regem pertinentibus, vocatum Kingeshares."

[*C. R. P., p.* 176 *b.*]

The following is the text of the charter in the British Museum:—

(British Museum, Harley Charter, 111. C. 13.) 28 April, 1363.

"Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ et Aquitaniæ Omnibus ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint Salutem, Sciatis quod de gratia nostra spetiali, et intuitu caritatis ac pro salute animarum progenitorum nostrorum dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilectis nobis in Christo Fratri Johanni Abbati de Stanlege in comitatu Wiltes' ac Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus proficuum ad nos de navibus Piscatorum villæ nostræ de Rye pertinens, vocatum Kynges shares, Habendum et tenendum eisdem Abbati et

Monachis et sucessoribus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum, Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Aprilis anno regni nostri vicesimo septimo.
per ipsum regem nunc'. W. de Wykeham. Burstall."

Fine example of the Bretigny seal.

28th April, 1363.

John, Abbot of Stanley, occurs in the above charter, which is also contained in Hearne's Diary in the Bodleian Library, vol. cxxv., f. 128.

A.D. 1363.

" Appropriatio ecclesiæ de Rye, co. Sussex, abbati & monachis de Stanley, A.D. 1363, penes virum eluentissimum Petrum Le Neve, arm. Norroy: et una cum ordinatione vicariæ in reg. Episc. Cicestr. c. f°. 76, 77."

[*Dugd.*]

The following is the text of this charter from Hearne's Diary, in the Bodleian Library, vol. cxxv. f. 129 :—

" Anno 37°. Edwardi tercii.
Pro Abb'e de Stanley in Com'. Wiltes.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem, Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et intuitu Caritatis ac pro salute Animarum progenitorum nostrorum dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris dilectis nobis in Christo fratri Johanni Abbati de Stanley in comitatu Wiltes, ac monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, Advocacionem ecclesiæ de Rye in Com. Sussex una cum Decima piscariæ in parochia ecclesiæ prædictæ vocata Christeshares. Habendum et tenendum eisdem abbati Monachis et Succesoribus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in liberam puram et perpetuam elimosinam imperpetuum, statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendum edito non obstante. In cujus &c. T. R. apud Westmonasterium, xxviii° die Aprilis. per ipsum, etc."

A very fair and perfect impression of the common seal of this abbey, attached to a deed dated in 1363, remains in the Augmentation Office : it is round and has for its subject the Blessed Virgin and Child on one side, and St. John the Baptist on the other ; between them is an olive tree. The legend is " s. comme. abbis. et c'ventus. de stanleya." The impression is on dark green wax.

[*Dugd.*]

1363. 37 Edward III.

"Abbas de Stanley in com. Wiltes. concessit Ricardo Penbridge in feodo manerium suum de Worda et nunc vocatum maneria de Wadele et Wikingesham in comitatu Berks, tentum de Rege per fidelitatem tantum quam Rex confirmavit."

[*C. R. P. p.* 176.]

"Pro abbate de Stanley eccl' ter."

[*Ibid.*]

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44 Edward III.

"Diversa pro Abbate de Stanley."

[*Ibid, p.* 186*b*.]

1423—4. 2 Henry VI.

"Perampla confirmatio terrarum ac libertatum pro Abbate de Stanley in com. Wiltes; Vide 4 Chart., Edw. II."

[*Ibid. p.* 271.]

1440—1. 19 Henry VI.

"Rex confirmat Abbati de Stanley ducentas et undecim acras terræ infra forestam de Pevensham jacentes, etc.; et quod possit eas excolere; Vide 32 pat., Ed. III."

[*Ibid. p.* 282.]

1447—8. 26 Henry VI.

"Pro Abbate de Stanley in com. Wilts."

[*Ibid, p.* 291.]

1448—9. 27 Henry VI.

Idem. *Ibid, p.* 292.

1448—9. 27 Henry VI.

"Exemptio pro Abbatibus de Stanley quod non sint collectores decimarum."

[*Ibid, p.* 292.]

1450—1. 29 Henry VI.

"Pro Abbate de Stanley."

[*Ibid, p.* 294.]

1452—3. 31 Henry VI.

"Pro Abbate de Stanley tam de terris quam de libertatibus."

[*Ibid. p.* 295.]

1454—5. 33 Henry VI.

"Quod abbas de Stanley in com. Wiltes possit concedere Johanni de Codrington, Armigero, in feodo manerium de Codrington in com. Glouc. pro annua firma undecim librarum."

[*Ibid, p.* 296.]

Uncertain year of Henry VI.

"Abbas de Stanley—pro cantaria in Heyworth, ad quod damnum. Stodley manerium; Heywood manerium, redd. 10 marc. exeunt.; Yatton major; Yatton Kaynes; Godwell; Thickwood; et Clopcote, Wiltes; Chepinglamborne; Uplamborne, Berks."

[*Inq. p. m., vol.* iv., p. 298.]

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26 Henry VIII.

Valor Ecclesiasticus, *temp.* Henry VIII. (Transcript of Return, 26 Henry VIII., in First Fruits Office.)

"Stanley in com. Wiltes, Sar. dioc.

Valores omnium dominiorum, maneriorum, &c.
Stanley Manerium.
Berwicke Basset cum Richardston & Langeden.
Chippenham.
Henton & Bubton.
Loxwell & Nethemore.
Myghall.
Stodley Grange & Costowe.
Godewell et Heywodde.
Heyforde cum Stapulforde & Rutsall.
Yatton & Clopcote.
Thyckewod & Haselbury.
Calne & Stodley.
Rowde.
Wotton Basset.
Cudry'gton in co. Glouc., Wygorn. Dioc.
Lambourn in co. Berk., Sar. Dioc.
Mercombe cum Eston & Buclondyna' in co. Somers., Bath. & Well. Dioc.
Rye in com. Sussex, Cicestr. Dioc.

Allocaciones and Resoluciones.

[The places mentioned in this branch of the accounts are Stanley, Loxwell, Barwycke Basset, Langeden, Weke, Costowe, Calne, Richardston, Chippenham, Langnam, Kyngscrofte.]

Penciones.

Soluta ad Cantariam Willelmi Ingram fundatam in ecclesiæ de Hyworth, exeunt' de Stodley Grange per annum £6 13*s.* 4*d.*"

[*Dugd.*]

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34 Henry VIII.

Computus Ministrorum Domini Regis, *temp.* Henry VIII. (Abstr. of Roll, 34 Hen. VIII., in Augmentation Office.

" Monasterium sive Abbatia de Stanley.

Com. Wilts'.	Brodehenton.	£32 13 8
	Bubton.	
	Uggeford.	
	Stapleford.	
	Rutsale.	
	Clopcote.	
	Calne-cum-Abbard.	
	Wotton Basset.	
Com. Glouc'.	Cudderington, (Cudelington, alias Codrington).	
	Rye."	

[*Dugd.*]

1536. Thomas occurs Abbot of Stanley.

[*B. Willis: Mitred Abbeys, vol.* ii., 257.]

Several documents relating to this abbey are preserved in the Duchy of Lancaster Office, Public Record Office, Bundle G. xl., and in the Augmentation Office Charters of the same building.

It appears from the *Bibliotheca Phillippsiana,* No. 168, that there are some Charters of Stanley Abbey in the Library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Cheltenham.

These two following charters were found among the *Cartæ Antiquæ in Arce Londinensi,* but too late for insertion in their proper chronological order:—

"Cartæ Antiquæ, DD., 10.
Carta Walteri filii Turstini.

6 Dec^r. [1192?]

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus et fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis nos reddidisse, et concessisse, et presenti carta confirmasse Waltero filio Turstini terram de Wurdie et de Stanlega quam Dominus Rex pater noster ei dedit et carta sua confirmavit. Habendam et tenendam de nobis et heredibus nostris ipse et heredes sui post eum in feodo et hereditate per servitiuum dimidii Militis de terra de Stanlea, et per servitium quorundam calcarium deauratorum, pretii xij*d.* pro omni servitio per annum de terra de Wurdie. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod ipse Walterus, et heredes sui post eum, habeant et teneant prefatem terram de Wurdie [*Worth*] et de Stanlega cum omnibus pertinentiis suis de nobis et heredibus nostris, bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie et honorifice, in bosco et plano, in viis et semitis, in aquis et molendinis, in vivariis et stagnis, in pratis et pascuis, in homagiis et servitiis et releviis et in omnibus aliis rebus et locis, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus. Testibus, Hugone Dunelmensi, G[alfrido] Wintoniensi, Huberto Sarum, Hugone Cestrensi, Episcopis; Willelmo Marescallo, Johanne Marescallo, Galfrido filio Petri, Hugone Bard'. Roberto de Witef'. Datum apud Dour', vi^to die Decembris."

[*MS. Harl.,* 85, fo. 49*b*.]

"Cartæ Antiquæ, DD. 11.
Carta Almarici Dispensatoris.

20 November, 5 Richard I. [1193.]

Ricardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, etc., Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Seneschallis, Prepositis, et omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos reddidisse et concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Almarico Dispensatori filio Turstini, fratri Walteri filii Turstini, heredi ejusdem Walteri, terram de Wordi et de Stanlea, quam Dominus Rex Henricus pater noster dedit Waltero fratri suo pro servitio suo sibi et heredibus suis. Habendum, etc. Quare volumus, etc., sicut carta patris nostri Regis Henrici et carta nostra quam Walterus frater ipsius Almarici de nobis habuit testatur. Testibus, Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesia Baldwino de Betun', Galfrido de Say, Willelmo de Molbrai, Eudone Patrich', Wigano de Cæsarisstagno. Datum per manum Willelmi Elyensis Episcopi, Cancellarii nostri, xx die Novembris. apud Spiram, Anno quinto regni nostri."

[*MS. Harl.,* 85, fo. 50.]

"A Plea for the Moles."

By the Rev. A. C. Smith.

[Read before the Society at the Annual Meeting at Devizes, September, 1874]

IN the first paper on the natural history of the county which I read before the Society at its first meeting in 1853 at Devizes, I expressed a hope that the inauguration of this and other kindred societies might not only be the dawn of a happier era of kindness towards the whole animal creation, and that the system of wanton persecution of God's creatures, hitherto unhappily so much practised in this country, and especially amongst the uneducated classes, might receive a timely check from the remonstrances of those who compose this Society; but also that the systematic persecution of certain species of animals, oftentimes prompted by ignorance of the true habits of the animal so persecuted, might be done away, by dispelling many erroneous fictions respecting the furred and feathered tribes, then so generally rife; and by diffusing more correct information regarding their economy, their habits, and their usefulness to man.

During the twenty-one years which have elapsed since the formation of this Natural History Society, we have from time to time endeavoured to disperse some of the fictions, and to substitute true histories of some of the species of living creatures we have yet touched upon. But a very great deal in this direction yet remains to be done: and when in furtherance of this intention I, twelve years ago, read a paper before the Society at Malmesbury, on the better preservation of a race of birds, against which a wholesale crusade of extermination was being then in some districts practised, and which I entitled "A plea for the Rooks," I promised that at some future day I would follow it up with another paper of apology for no less injured, no less harmless, no less valuable a quadruped, viz., the "Mole;" a promise, which, though postponed much longer than I intended, I desire now to redeem.

Let me in the first place disarm opposition, if I can, to the claims I am about to put forth for the Mole, by declaring that I am not going to pronounce him immaculate, or slur over the injuries he sometimes commits. I have, it is true, ever considered this little quadruped as an animal of great interest; I have always admired his remarkable shape and formation, and his extraordinary instinct: and I have paid considerable attention to his habits, not only in a state of freedom, but also in captivity; having had especial opportunities of so doing, when an Irish friend and neighbour, to whom the mole was a stranger (for there are no moles in Ireland), by way of making his acquaintance, kept one for many weeks in confinement in a large open pan. But it is not as a blind partizan that I advocate his cause; but when I have stated plainly and dispassionately both sides of the question, all that may be said *against* as well as *for* him, I shall be astonished if the verdict of an unprejudiced public is not in his favour: and I am very sure that if I fail in convincing my readers of his value, it is from the weakness of the advocate who holds the brief, and not from the weakness of the cause.

There is but one species of mole which inhabits this country, viz., the Common Mole of Europe (*Talpa*[1] *Europœa*). It was generally known in England, and is to this day familiarly spoken of in Nottinghamshire and some other counties as the "*Mouldiwarp*:" which is evidently no other than the old Anglo-Saxon "*molde-wyrp*," from *molde*, earth or mould, and *weorpan*, to cast or throw, or rather *wyrp*, a caster: just as the modern German designation of the same animal is *maulwurf*, the latter part from *werfen*, to throw; and alluding in both cases to the manner in which the fin-like hands warp, or throw off the mould on each side of them. But with us in Wiltshire it is universally known as the "*Want*," a term which is often ridiculed as a provincialism, but which I will venture to say is of no less antiquity than Mouldiwarp, and may equally boast an Anglo-Saxon origin, being indeed no other than the name *Wand*, changing the final letter *d* into *t*, after a method not uncommon in this county: and here again we have the term by which the mole

[1] Talpa, from τυφλος, alluding to its supposed blindness.

was originally known in Anglo-Saxon England, in Denmark, and Scandinavia (as it is now in Norway and Sweden, under the title *Vond*), a name too derived from the same habit, being taken from *winden*, to throw or cast aside; though possibly it may come from *winn-an*, to labour, in allusion to the laborious life of mining which this little animal undergoes. However, to proceed with a brief sketch of its formation and habits.

It is a member of the Insectivorous class of quadrupeds, and I dare say most people, as they contemplate its apparently awkward form, and think of its subterranean existence, regard it with a pity which is by no means akin to love, but much more allied with contempt. I shall be very much surprized, if a careful consideration of its life and habits does not raise it in the eyes of all who can admire ingenuity and skill, to somewhat of a level with the hut-building beaver and the cell-constructing hive-bee, creatures which, working before men's eyes, have been happy in attracting general admiration and applause, of which others are no less deserving, though their works may perhaps be for the most part unseen and unknown.

First let me call attention to the remarkable formation of the mole. Observe the cylindrical shape of the body, so well calculated to facilitate its rapid progress through the subterranean passages which form its only routes of communication between the different parts of its domain: mark the head forming a long cone, the base lost in the shoulders, the apex formed by the front of the jaws. See the elongated pointed gristly snout, or muzzle, so elastic, so flexible and so strong, which sometimes is thought to serve as a boring instrument, for perforating the earth: the prodigious strength of limb; (indeed in the neck, shoulder, and forearm, it is said to be, in proportion to its size, the strongest quadruped in existence:) the peculiar broadly-expanded flattened feet, or hands, or *fins* (as I had almost called them) so hard, so short, so broad, so muscular, with the palms or soles turned outwards, and with a sharp inner or under edge; armed too with the thickest and strongest of nails, the most perfect of implements wherewith to dig, and hoe, and throw back the earth in its excavations. Its limbs indeed present a remarkable instance of the perfection of development in reference to its habits.

The posterior limbs are very slender, and the feet plantigrade, but the fore limbs have little resemblance in shape to the hind ones, and are but awkward instruments for walking, yet for the important function of tunnelling most admirably adapted. Mark again the short thick velvet-like fur, so impervious to wet, with which it is clothed; its extraordinary development of the sense of smell, to which it is principally indebted for the discovery of its food; and the acute powers of hearing which it possesses; and say, is it not admirably adapted to the burrowing life it leads? And here in passing let me observe that the species of mole with which we are acquainted, is not blind, as is popularly supposed; for, though for the most part but little employed, and within eyelids which are open only to a very small extent, it is furnished with very small, bright, black, and deeply-set bead-like eyes. There is however, a really sightless mole, called *Talpa cœca*, which exists in Southern Europe, with which our British species has doubtless been sometimes confounded, and hence the mistaken belief, shared by Shakspeare and many other authors of note, and generally entertained to this day, of the positive blindness of our British mole.

Thus equipped then for the battle of life, and thus furnished with the most powerful appliances for its purpose, the mole traverses the earth many inches below the surface, in search of the worms, grubs, insects and other animals which form its prey. Voracious beyond all other creatures, this little glutton can only appease its almost insatiable appetite by consuming such a quantity of food as is out of all proportion to its own bulk. But unlike other hearty feeders, the most excessive meal does not satisfy it for long. After but a very few hours of the most profound sleep, it awakes with recovered appetite to hunt for a farther supply, and so it passes no small portion of its existence, in greedily devouring its prey, or in the deepest slumber, for the mole is no lukewarm nonchalant idler, but an earnest determined animal, doing nothing by halves, but throwing itself with a zeal which is quite extraordinary into the occupation of the moment; so that it has been styled, without any exaggeration, at once the most voracious and the most ferocious, as well as the boldest and the fiercest of animals of its size. That it should drink

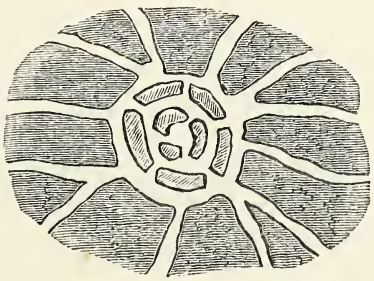
without stint is only what may be expected from an animal-feeder; but that it should swim with ease is an accomplishment we should scarcely have looked for in so thoroughly terrestrial a creature: and yet that it does swim without difficulty is quite certain; and it will even, on occasion, cross a considerable river, the flat broad palms of the fore feet being doubtless very useful as paddles in such aquatic migrations.

As regards its food, I have already said that worms, grubs, and insects of all sorts constitute its diet; but we shall form but a very erroneous notion of the part it plays in clearing our ground of noxious creatures, unless we appreciate the fact that it is the wire-worm, so destructive a pest in our cornfields, which is the more especial object of its search, and with which it chiefly delights to satisfy its voracious appetite; the wire-worm, the dread of the agriculturist, and the ruin of many a promising crop; the scarcely less hated grub of the common cockchafer (*Melolontha vulgaris*), which remains in the *larva* state for no less than four years, and, during that prolonged existence as a grub, contrives to effect incalculable injury on our meadows: these and sundry kindred species of noxious grubs and worms as well as insects form the principal part of the prey of this indefatigable little quadruped.

So much then for its general habits and mode of life. And now I come to speak more fully of its consummate skill as a miner, in the long galleries and tunnels it forms, not by any means at haphazard, but after a clever design which its instinct teaches it to carry out. I shall perhaps best describe its subterranean excavations, if I divide them into two classes; those which are more permanent, (as the high road or run which traverses the whole length of the domain; the castle or fortress, which is the general habitation; and the nest or nursery, which is quite a distinct summer dwelling-place:) and those which are more temporary, (as the lateral galleries, which diverge in all directions from the main track, and are in fact the happy hunting-grounds of its daily excursions.) These last-mentioned are, as might be expected, of a less finished and elaborate character than those which are of more permanent utility, and are generally abandoned (at least for a time) when the soil thereabouts

has been thoroughly searched; they are also oftentimes of very intricate pattern, carried on in a series of zigzags, as caprice, or more probably instinct, suggests, and as the scarcity or abundance of the prey sought for determines.

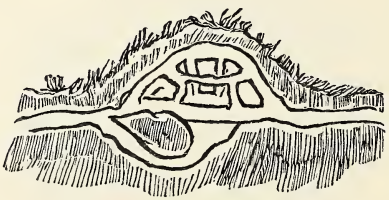
But the principal passage, or high road—as I may call it—is very carefully constructed, with a view, not only to ready access to all parts of the domain, but to security and escape by flight from the enemies which sometimes pursue it home, the weasel and the rat. This main passage moreover is thought to be generally formed by the consolidation or "compression of the earth which surrounds it, rather than by actual excavation; and hence the infrequency of mole-hills over it, compared with the number which are observed in connection with the lesser galleries or alleys, in forming which the earth is removed out of the way by being thrown up on the surface." This principal highway, into which all the other passages open, extends from the fortress to the extreme limit of the ground occupied: it varies in depth, according to the looseness or firmness of the soil in which it is constructed, and its consequent security from injury by pressure from above; and whereas it has sometimes been found at a depth of only four or five inches, in other cases it has been known, when circumstances required it, to be sunk no less than eighteen inches below the surface.



Plan of Molehill.

And now let me draw attention to the illustration, which I have taken from a German book on zoology, and which is at once the most simple and the most accurate sketch I have seen. The plan

is not, as might well be supposed, that of an elaborate military fortress, nor of a systematically laid-out modern town; though I would call attention in passing, to its great resemblance in general ground-plan to the city of *Carlsruhe*, for some time the capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden, a city laid out designedly in the form of a wheel, with all the principal streets radiating, like spokes, from the palace which occupies the centre. The design however, here, is not that of any civil engineer, nor of any military general: it is a fortress indeed and an encampment, but planned and carried out below the surface of the earth by the despised and persecuted mole. This elaborate fortress is always constructed beneath a mound of more than ordinary dimensions, and "which is always raised in a situation of safety and protection; either under a bank, against the foundation of a wall, at the root of a tree, or in some similar locality. The earth of which the dome, covering this curious habitation, is formed, is rendered exceedingly strong and solid, by being pressed and beaten by the mole in forming it. It contains a circular gallery within the base, which communicates with a smaller one above, by five nearly equidistant passages; and the domicile or chamber is placed within the lower and beneath the upper circular gallery, to which last it has access by three similar passages. From the chamber extends another road, the direction of which is at first downwards for several inches: it then rises again to open into the



Section of Molehill.

high road of the encampment. From the external circular gallery open about nine other passages, the orifices of which are never formed opposite to those which connect the outer with the inner and upper gallery: these extend to a greater or less distance, and return, each taking an irregular semicircular route, and opening into the high

road at various distances from the fortress. Such is a very hasty description of this most singular structure; and nothing surely can be imagined more admirably calculated to ensure the security or the retreat of the inhabitant, than such an arrangement of internal routes of communication as this. The chamber communicating beneath directly with the road, and above with the upper gallery—this with the lower by five passages, and the latter again with the road by no less than nine—exhibit altogether a complication of architecture which may rival the more celebrated erections of the beaver." So says Mr. Bell, in whose expressive and clear words I have preferred to describe this interesting portion of my subject. It is however to the indefatigable labours of two French naturalists that we are indebted for our chief acquaintance with the economy and habits of the mole, and especially of its excavations, to *M. Cadet de Vaux*, who devoted a great deal of time to this subject, and to *M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire*, who also prosecuted very careful researches on the point; and it was not until after a long series of very minute observations and experiments, carried on sometimes together and sometimes independently of one another, that these eminent and very patient naturalists arrived at the desired results, and satisfied themselves that they had mastered the somewhat complicated arrangement of the excavated galleries and chamber of the mole's fortress.

Of the nest or nursery of the mole, I have little to add beyond the fact that it is always quite distinct from the fortress, and generally placed at a considerable distance from it, (as a skilful general would naturally desire to remove the female and infantine portion of the community during the time of siege to a place of security apart from the din of war,) for the males are remarkably pugnacious, and battles, which terminate in the death of one at least of the combatants, are of very frequent occurrence. The nest has no claim to elaborate design: it is but an excavated chamber, warmly lined with fine grass, and appears to be placed in a remote portion of the domain, where it may have the best chance of escaping discovery from any prowling marauder in the form of a rat, weasel, or other murderous enemy.

It is also worthy of observation that in constructing both its nest and fortress, the mole is careful to place them in secure situations, where there is little chance of their being trampled in from above. They are generally covered with a large mound of earth, which is by some means consolidated to the required hardness, so as to be able to offer considerable resistance to pressure from without. Then in order that these several retreats should not be liable to injury from rain, they are made almost even with the ground, and at a higher level than the runs and passages which serve, on occasion, as drains or channels, to carry off the water.

That the Mole is not dormant in winter, as Linnæus and others have supposed, we have ample evidence in the hillocks which are thrown up by this indefatigable labourer even during the most severe weather: indeed who has not noticed a fresh heap from time to time thrust up through the snow, more conspicuous then than at other times, from the contrast of colour? and who has not marvelled at the strength of the digger, as he looks upon a new-made mound of earth pushed up through the frozen ground? though at the same time with a wise appreciation of the economy of labour, this skilled workman will, at such seasons, wherever such a course is practicable, push the accumulated earth before him till he reaches the nearest hillock, and there thrust it through an old hole to the surface, rather than trouble himself to make a new one through the turf, as he would do, if the ground was soft. It is however in autumn that the principal excavations are effected, and the early morning, when all around is still, is the time which it prefers for its labours, though it will, on occasion, carry on its works at other times. So sensitive, too, is it to interruption, that the slightest sound or movement of an approaching foot puts an immediate stop to the work, and no further excavation of the earth will be attempted that day, It is a remarkable fact that it is able to burrow in wet miry ground no less than in dry earth, without soiling or even tarnishing the brightness of its glossy skin, but then we must remember that the earth is as natural to the short thick close fur of the mole, as the air is to the feathers of the bird, or the water to the scales of the fish. Moreover it is wonderful, if surprized above ground, how it contrives, almost

in an instant, to work into the earth by means of its snout and fore feet, and throwing up its hind feet to dive (as it were) below the surface, and disappear into its own element. Not so easy is it to determine *how* it forms the casts with which we are all so familiar. That the earth is pushed up from below, and through a very small orifice, is certain; but *how* the operation is performed, has baffled, I believe, up to this time, every observer, while the appearance of the heap, if you examine it carefully, is exactly as if it was formed by a deposit from above.

Having now sketched an outline of the life-history, and touched upon the general habits of the Moles, it remains to speak of the benefit and the injury they do to man, to describe the little peccadilloes of which they are sometimes guilty, and then to enlarge on their counterbalancing virtues. I will turn first to the mischief they sometimes innocently effect; and acknowledge that in a turnip, swede, or mangold-wurzel field, when they burrow just below the plants, undermining whole rows of them and causing them to wither, it would be surprizing indeed if their presence was relished by the farmer: neither when they run their galleries (as they will in light soils) just below the surface in a corn field, loosening the earth at the roots, and thus depriving the grain of the moisture it should derive from the ground, are they in any better odour with the agriculturist: again, in a well-drained pasture, when they burrow into the drains, and disturb the carefully-planned system for reclaiming marshy meadows; or in the case of the embankment of a canal or reservoir, which they perforate with their runs, till they have almost honeycombed it; or in the eyes of the gardener, who is vexed at the unsightly heaps unceremoniously thrown up on his neatly-kept lawn, or even within the precincts of his flower-beds; they are certainly unwelcome visitors. But, after all, these injuries are but rare and casual and of a trifling nature, with the single exception of interfering with drains, which I acknowledge to be a more serious matter. Then think of the immense amount of good they are always doing, acting as scavengers below the surface! what a vast army of wire-worms, grubs, and other noxious creatures do they not consume! pests which would infallibly injure the roots and the corn of the agriculturist,

and the flowers and the vegetables and even turf of the gardener ten-fold, aye, I venture to say a hundred-fold more than the little quadruped which is persecuted while they are passed over; and all, forsooth, because the heaps he throws up are apparent and open, while their work of destruction is hidden from view, but is as injurious as it is insidious and silent. I should scarcely have completed my catalogue of the benefits and injuries which moles do to man, if I omitted to mention the fatal results which have sometimes occurred from the horse of the incautious rider having put his foot in a mole-cast, and come down with more or less injury to the horseman. Notoriously this was the case with one at least of the Kings of England, viz., William III., who certainly lost his life by this mishap. As to whether the death of this monarch was a benefit or an injury to the people of England, I must leave everybody to form his or her own opinion: but certain it is that from the date of William the Third's fatal accident, the adherents of the house of Stuart became on a sudden great admirers of the little quadruped whose history we have been considering, and in allusion to what they were pleased to consider their delivery from an usurper, one of their favourite after-dinner toasts was, "The health of the little gentleman in black velvet." That however may be deemed matter of opinion, I return to matters of fact: and that the value of the Mole is no fancy of the prejudiced Naturalist nor an untenable theory which cannot be supported by evidence, has been amply proved by those who are best able to judge, the enlightened agriculturists who have not only taken pains to preserve this little quadruped on their lands, but have gone to considerable expense to procure and turn down alive as many as they could collect. Doubtless by so doing they often incurred the ridicule of their more prejudiced neighbours, but they derived at the same time the solid benefit of the destruction of injurious worms and grubs from their lands, and consequently heavier crops than they would otherwise have had, as they have taken pains to make known.

In some of the more fenny districts in the eastern counties of England, such as Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, where vast tracts of valuable land have been reclaimed from the water by

means of an intricate system of drainage, I can well understand that the presence of a single mole would be most undesirable, and I can appreciate the motive which prompts to an immediate hunt, only ending in his capture, whenever a wretched individual of this genus chances to wander into those tabooed regions: but in all other places where the drains are neither so numerous, nor so complicated, I unhesitatingly assert that the benefits which this little animal confers on man infinitely counterbalance the trifling injury of which he may occasionally be guilty, and that even in the lightest soil; whereas in stiff soils, such as are to be found generally throughout our districts in North Wilts, the more they loosen the earth and drain it with their subterranean galleries, the lighter and the more productive it will become: while even the unsightly hillocks may be very quickly and easily spread abroad on the land, and no top-dressing can be found at once so valuable and so cheaply procured, as the fine earth of which these hillocks are composed.

In short, I trust that the day is not far distant when the mole-catcher or *want*-catcher—as we call him in Wiltshire—with his home-made wooden traps, his deliberate movements, his stealthy tread, and his oracular speech, will be a thing of the past; when the most conspicuous bush at the crossing of two rides in our woods, or near the field gate, shall not be adorned with bunches of this slaughtered innocent; but when all will alike combine to preserve this, which is at once the most harmless, the most useful, and I may truly add, the most persecuted of all our British quadrupeds.

Notes on Spye Park and Bromham.[1]

By C. H. Talbot, Esq.

(Read before the Society at Devizes, September 9th, 1874.)

ON September 11th, 1868, I visited the old house of Spye Park, then in course of demolition. There was little in its appearance at first sight to make a visitor suppose that it could be of any antiquity; and I do not think that many persons were aware then, or perhaps are aware now, that it was other than a modern erection. However, what I saw on that occasion left no doubt on my mind that this was the house which Evelyn visited and described, and an older building in reality than by simply reading Evelyn's account we should have concluded.

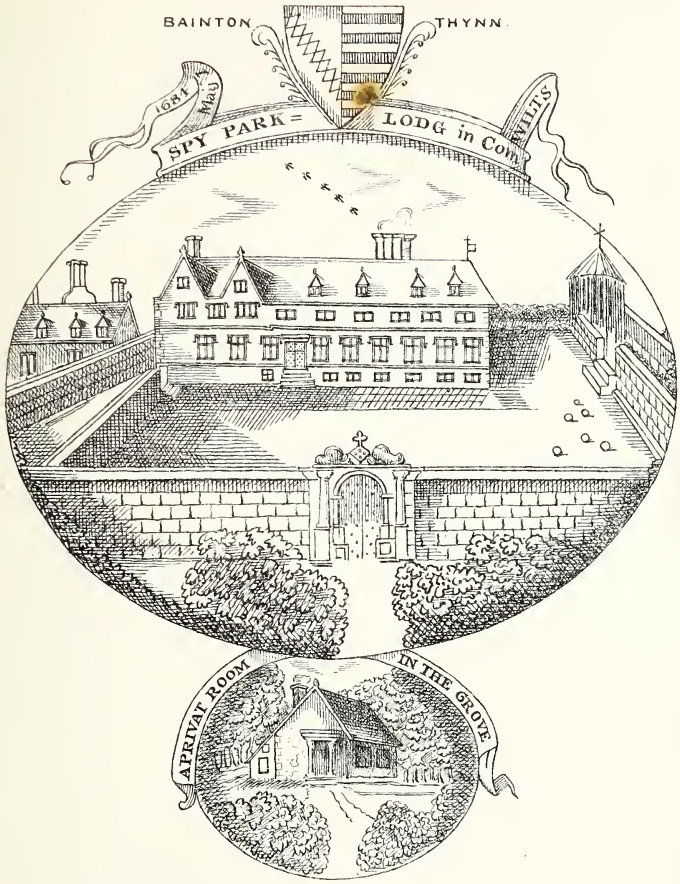
Remains of two kinds came to light: first—the ancient features of the original building, which had long been concealed: secondly—ornate fragments of another building, no doubt Bromham Hall, which were found re-used as walling material in the walls of the more modern part of the house.

Fortunately an old view of the front of the house towards the park is extant. It is dated May 1st, 1684, and was drawn by Thomas Dingley,[2] in his very interesting manuscript, in the possession of Sir Thomas Winnington, which has been published in *fac-simile* by the Camden Society under the title "Dingley's History from Marble." This shows the house as it must have been in Evelyn's time; and if it had been drawn for the express purpose of illustrating Evelyn's description, it could not have agreed with it more exactly.

Evelyn visited the house on the 19th of July, 1654. He says in

[1] The paper contained a description of Bromham Church, the publication of which is postponed.

[2] Dingley's History from Marble, part i., p. xxxvii. My thanks are due to the Council of the Camden Society for permission to reproduce this sketch in the illustration, which is prefixed to this paper.



SPYE PARK;

From a sketch by Thomas Dingley,

May 1st 1684.

Edw. Pyle, anastat.

his diary,[1] "Went back to Cadenham, and on the 19th to Sir Ed. Baynton's at Spie Park, a place capable of being made a noble seate; but the humourous old Knight has built a long single house of 2 low stories on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling greene in the park. The house is like a long barne, and has not a window on the prospect side." Dingley's drawing shows the house with a partially sunk story—a principal story or first floor which had largish windows and in which was the main entrance up a few steps—a second floor with a range of lower windows extending, as in the floor below, along the whole front—and above this second floor, two gables with windows in them on the left of the view, and four dormer windows in the roof.

This agrees well with Evelyn's description. We have the "long single house"—that is, I presume, a simple rectangle in plan without wings; "of 2 low stories"—that is to say, he reckons the two principal floors only, omitting the sunk story and the attic story; "landing on a bowling greene in the park"—The view shows this bowling green with the bowls lying on it, rectangular, and enclosed by a wall which joined the house at its north-east corner where there appears to have been a doorway through the wall. The principal entrance to the green from the park was an arched doorway, apparently of the seventeenth century, nearly opposite the door of the house, surmounted probably by the shield of Baynton impaling Thynne which Dingley has placed above the sketch.[2]

On the right of the view the enclosing wall returns, running parallel to the west end of the house, and terminating near the slope of the hill with a pavilion or summer-house of which I believe traces lately remained. On the left of the view appears part of the old stables which still remain.

Evelyn says that though "on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, ... the house is like a long barne, and has not a window on the prospect side." This is characteristic also of the old

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[1] Edition of 1871, p. 232.

[2] This Sir Edward Baynton, whom Evelyn visited, married Stuarta, daughter of Sir Thomas Thynne.

stable building; and this peculiarity, coupled with the occurrence of chimneys in that building, has induced some persons to suppose that it was the original house, or formed part of it, but I think erroneously, for there is nothing about this latter building to show that it was not originally erected for offices. The view shows that the house itself had a goodly show of windows on the side next the park. There may have been a good practical reason why the windows were not on the prospect side. Our ancestors were as a rule far less fond of exposed situations than ourselves, therefore it is likely that the windows were put on the side least exposed to the wind. The old knight probably liked comfort, and Evelyn himself was exceptional in the refinement of his taste; however, the pavilion shown in the view seems to imply that the beauties of nature were not entirely neglected.

The passage which follows this description of the house will I think induce the most enthusiastic archæologist to admit that, in some respects, the present times are better than those that have gone before. It runs thus—"After dinner they went to bowles, and in the meanetime our coach-men were made so exceedingly drunk, that in returning home we escap'd greate dangers. This it seems was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated; but the custome is a barbarous one, and much unbecoming a Knight, still lesse a Christian."

So far I have directed your attention to Dingley's view, and the exactness with which it illustrates Evelyn's description. I must now state my reasons for holding that the house lately pulled down was the same building. It will be remembered that, as the house lately stood, there was a portico to the front door. The doorway itself seemed to have retained the same, or nearly the same, position as in Evelyn's time. The whole front of the house, above the sunk story, had been converted at the same time as the portico was erected, by Sir Edward Baynton Rolt, the first baronet, about 1749. Evidence of such conversion, as regards the windows, was obtained comparatively recently, in some alterations towards the west end of the front.[1]

[1] For this and other information most kindly supplied to me, I am indebted to Mrs. Starky, of Battle House, Bromham.

Below this, the sunk story with its range of low windows shown in Dingley's view remained, and bore out Evelyn's description, as all its windows but one looked towards the park.

A drawing room on the south or prospect side, will be remembered as the handsomest room in the house. This, which projected from the old part of the house, was also built by Sir Edward Baynton Rolt;[1] and I understood that it was in the walls of this part that the fragments, which must have been brought from Bromham Hall, were found. Passing into the cellar under this room, through an arch in the wall of the old house, I observed that it had evidently at one time been an external doorway, as the best side was that towards the cellar, and therefore originally the outside of the house. The arch was four-centred, and appeared to be of the time of Henry VIII. In the south wall of the old building I saw the jamb of a fire-place *in situ*, with a moulding of late Perpendicular character. This would be on the second floor, counting the sunk story. There were also remains of the jamb of a doorway, elaborately moulded, lower down. This was all I saw *in situ*. There were some remains of square-headed windows; but, whether these were *in situ* when taken down, or materials brought originally from Bromham Hall, I was unable to ascertain.

I think that, if the building before being demolished had been carefully examined, and some measurements taken and drawings made, the plan might probably have been made out, and the date at any rate fixed beyond a doubt. The impression on my mind, at the time, certainly was that the building was older than the seventeenth century, and probably of the time of Henry VIII. This, of course, is contrary to Evelyn's assertion that it was built by the Sir Edward Baynton of his day; but it often happens that a person is described as the *builder* of a house who, in reality, only altered it. It appeared

[1] Two other rooms, on the south side of the house, were believed to have been built by the mother of Sir Edward Baynton Rolt, the heiress Anne Baynton, who married first, Edward Rolt, Esq., and secondly, James, Lord Somerville; and some rooms were added by Dr. Starky, who also pulled down a small detached building floored with marble, of which Dingley has given a sketch below that of the house, and which he has marked "a privat room in the grove."

to me probable that there was a small house or hunting lodge here whilst Bromham Hall still existed, and that this was made the principal residence of the family when the Hall was destroyed. The name "Spy Park Lodg," given to it by Dingley, in itself suggested this.[1]

The old stables still remain with very little alteration, forming a picturesque building with five gables and many windows to the north side. Seen from a little distance, it might well be supposed earlier; but, judging from a round arched doorway, now walled up, in the western end, which appears to be original, and from the cap mouldings of the chimneys, I should think that the whole was built as offices, by Sir Edward Baynton, in the seventeenth century.

Of the fragments of old work,[2] found re-used as building material in the more modern walls of the house, two specimens of elaborately carved stone-work were preserved.[3] It is, I think, impossible to say to what part of the building they may have belonged. The work is no doubt of Henry the Eighth's time, and is remarkable rather for richness of ornament than for beauty of design. These fragments, and the gate-way shortly to be described, fully bear out the tradition of the magnificent character of Bromham Hall, which has been described as "nearly as large as Whitehall, and a palace fit to entertain a king."

The ruins of Bromham Hall were used as a quarry, whether by the Sir Edward Baynton who so extensively altered the house we do not know, but certainly at a later date, and one of the family, Sir Edward Baynton Rolt, had taste enough not to destroy, but rather to remove bodily, the gate-house which now stands at the

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[1] This conjecture has since been confirmed, for I am informed by Mrs. Starky that it is considered certain that this took place. But for this confirmation, I could not have felt completely confident of conclusions arrived at in a single short visit, as it is easy to be mistaken, at first-sight, in the date of a building, and debased Perpendicular details lingered long in this neighbourhood.

[2] Originally, beyond all reasonable doubt, from Bromham Hall.

[3] These fragments have been, since the visit of the Society, built into a recess in a terrace wall for protection. My thanks are due to J. W. G. Spicer, Esq., of Spye Park, for permission to make use of a photograph taken for him in the preparation of the accompanying illustration.

Edw: Fite, anastat:

CARVED STONES FROM BROMHAM HALL, FOUND AT SPYE PARK, 1868.

entrance of the park, near Bowden Hill. We should be better pleased now, if it still stood in its original situation; but, very probably, we owe it to this removal that it has not been entirely destroyed.

About this gate-house there is a confusion of traditions, taking apparently these two forms; 1—that it was brought from Corsham where it formed part of the king's house; 2—that it was brought from Devizes Castle. There can be no doubt, however, that it is a relic of Bromham Hall which was destroyed in 1645; and an examination of the arms upon it shows that it was built by Sir Edward Baynton, who died in 1544 or 1545, and whose first wife was Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Sulliard of Suffolk.

The traditions are easily explained. Leland, living at the time, is a good authority; and he describes Corsham as "a good uplandish toun, wher be ruines of an old maner place: and therby a park wont to be yn dowage to the Quenes of *Englande*. Mr. *Baynton*, yn Quene *Anne's* dayes, pullid down by licens a peace of this house sumwhat to help his buildinges at *Bromeham*."[1] Also, speaking of Devizes Castle, he says "It is now in ruine, and parte of the front of the towres of the gate of the kepe and the chapell in it were caried, full unprofitably, onto the buyldynge of Master *Bainton's* place at *Bromeham* scant 3 myles of.[2]"

It is evident, therefore, that this Sir Edward Baynton, in the reign of Henry VIII, built Bromham Hall with stone obtained from the ruins both of Devizes Castle and of the king's manor house at Corsham, the latter when Anne Boleyn was queen.[3] Aubrey, speaking of Bradenstoke, says "Broad-Hinton House, Bromham house and Cadnam House were built of the Ruines of Bradstock Abbey.[4]" It seems that, on the dissolution of that priory, Edward

[1] Leland's Itinerary, *vide* vol. i., p. 143, of this Magazine.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 181.

[3] The family tradition is this, that the gate was given to Sir Edward Baynton, by queen Catherine of Aragon. If Corsham manor was, as Leland says, "yn dowage to the Quenes of Englande," a grant of the stone may have been made by queen Catherine, and the work have been carried out in the time of Anne Boleyn.

[4] Aubrey's "Wiltshire Collections" by the Rev. Canon Jackson, p. 189.

Baynton got some part of its estate; but it is hardly likely that he would have fetched his stone such a distance. Moreover he was possessor of Stanley Abbey, and could get stone from thence. When Aubrey wrote scarcely any part of Stanley Abbey remained;[1] and, though I have not seen it stated, it seems likely that that Abbey was, at least partially, demolished by its purchaser.

Viewing the gate-house from the high road, the archæologist must exercise a faculty which is often called upon, and imagine a restoration. The first thing to be ignored is the circular stone arch which has been erected, quite recently, beneath the old one, for the purpose of supporting the latter which had become dangerous. This, of course, interferes a good deal with the effect; but it will not do so to the same extent when the stone shall have weathered, and it is difficult to see what other expedient could have been adopted, as the old arch is much out of shape and cracked in one part, and it would have been very difficult to have rebuilt it. Restoring in imagination the old level of the roadway, which was lowered when the new arch was inserted, it will be seen that certain features of the present building are not original, but are variations introduced into the design when it was rebuilt, comprising the angle buttresses, apparently—the ogee-headed niches on each side, and the windows in the north and south walls, certainly. With these exceptions, the two faces of the building seem to have been rebuilt very fairly as they originally stood. Their general design is the same. The arches are four-centred and very flat, a bad shape both constructionally and artistically. Their spandrels however are richly carved with foliage, there being a decidedly Cinque Cento and non-gothic element about them. In each, a dragon or griffin supports a shield of arms. Above these arches are large oriel windows, and the building is finished with a battlement above. On the west side, next the high road, which has been the front and is rather more ornamented than the other, there are fluted shafts at the angles of the lower part of the oriel terminated with slight pendants, and other such shafts above, which must have been carried up as pinnacles above the

[1] Aubrey's "Wiltshire Collections," by the Rev. Canon Jackson, p. 113.

battlement, but are now broken off at that level, so that the original finish cannot be ascertained. On the central panel of the front oriel are the royal arms of Henry VIII., France and England quarterly, encircled by the garter, surmounted by the crown, with a crowned lion and griffin as supporters. On the left panel, above some foliated ornament, are the letters E B, for Edward Baynton, and beneath this the griffin crest of the Baynton family. This carving is almost perfect. On the right panel has been a beautiful device, to a considerable extent open-work, and therefore much mutilated. Here again are the letters E B, this time tied together by a cord. The upper part of this device is lost. Letters thus tied together are frequently the cypher of man and wife. In this case, as there is no crest beneath, they may be for the wife Elizabeth Baynton, and the cord may indicate that it was a cypher she acquired by marriage. The lowest member of the mouldings, beneath the oriel, is a richly carved band in which griffins with human heads support wreaths containing crests, alternately the Baynton griffin's head, and a horse's head, the crest of Roche of Bromham.

In the spandrels of the arch beneath is carved the foliage of a vine with bunches of grapes. In the right spandrel is the wife's paternal shield, bearing quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a chevron gules, between three pheons sable, Sulliard; and second and third, a coat which I have not identified. In the left spandrel is this shield, quarterly, first and fourth, Baynton, second, Delamere, third, Roche,—impaling the Sulliard arms as in the shield last mentioned.

Over the central oriel, on the battlement, is the griffin crest, and in a similar position near the angle of the wall on each side the horse's head, these latter being rather rudely cut.

The inner or east side of the gate-house is plainer. In the central panel of the oriel, of which the carving has been very much mutilated, appear again the crowned lion and griffin supporters, and the remains of a crown or coronet over all. The shield is completely broken away, but it does not seem to have been encircled by the garter. The battlement on this side of the gate is evidently modern, and has in general no mouldings, but, on the central stone which, as it has a moulding, appears to be original, are the Prince of Wales'

plumes. Is it not therefore probable that the arms on the central panel of the oriel were those of Edward VI., when Prince of Wales, rather than the King's arms repeated? On each side panel of the oriel occurs the Tudor rose crowned, that on the left remaining perfect.

In the left spandrel of the arch is the shield of Baynton with the letter B upon it, placed diagonally, in the upper right-hand corner. Probably the letter E was originally in the lower left-hand corner, but is not now visible. The shield in the right spandrel of the arch bears quarterly, first and fourth Baynton, second Delamere, third Roche.

It may be noticed that four modern lancet windows, two on each side of the gate-house, are built of moulded stones which have evidently formed the ribs of a groined vault, but whether they belonged to this gate or not I cannot tell.

There are two timber houses of the fifteenth century, near Bromham Church, which deserve attention, as such houses are not too numerous and become scarcer every day. One of these is church property. This house stands to the north-east of the chancel, and has been a good deal altered by the insertion of a shop window. It retains its original doorway which opens, I think, into the principal room, which has been a square room with a flat ceiling and moulded beams. Many such ceilings, I believe, remain, and not unfrequently in houses that have been refaced, so that no one would suspect their antiquity. The beams cross in the middle and return round the sides of the room. Adjoining is a room which looks as if it had been the kitchen, but perhaps it may be later. There is one stone window in the end of the house which has a look of the sixteenth century, but may be of the fifteenth. The oldest wooden windows of which there are traces are, I think, of the seventeenth.

The other house stands to the south-west of the church, and externally it is the more perfect of the two. The timber work of these two houses is very similar, and apparently of about the same date in the fifteenth century; but in the case of this second house an additional wing and a chimney have been added in the sixteenth century, and these additions are of stone. The interior of this house I have not seen. Near this house is another of later date with a picturesque porch.

An Indenture for building a House at Salisbury,

23rd HENRY VI.

Communicated by J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.

THE following indenture, it will be seen, sets forth a contract for building a house in the "blew bore" at Salisbury, in 1444, between William Ludlow, and John Fayrebowe, a carpenter of Bishopstrow, near Warminster. The document is written in English, and is in excellent preservation; unfortunately the seals have entirely disappeared. In making the transcript a few contractions have been extended but the spelling carefully preserved. The deed was lately found in a remote part of England, but seems once to have been in the possession of Mr. Benson, late Recorder of Salisbury, as it is quoted in two or three instances by Mr. Parker, in his "Glossary of Architecture," in explanation of certain obsolete building terms. It does not, however, appear to have been printed *in extenso*, at least it is not mentioned by Professor Willis amongst the authorities in his "Nomenclature of the Middle Ages," nor is it found in the "Archæologia."

All documents of this early period relating to the expenses of, and terms used in building, are scarce and valuable, especially when written in the vernacular. They are necessarily expressed in the language of the workmen; the greater part of the words had a French origin, and many of them remain to the present day in France.

Several other contracts for elaborate architectural works of about this period are in existence. In 1450 an indenture was made for fitting up the Beauchamp Chapel, at Warwick, in accordance with the will of the founder. It is preserved and printed in "Blore's Monuments." Another excellent specimen of this kind of document, and one little known, is found in "Halstead's Genealogies." It is an indenture for the tomb of Ralph Greene, of Luffwick, Northamptonshire, in 1419. The material of this magnificent tomb was

alabaster, and the instructions for carrying out the work most elaborate and minute; the contract is written in French and expressed in terms very similar to those of the Salisbury indenture. This Ralph Greene was descended from the ancient family of Maudit, Lords of Warminster. The Maudits flourished from the reign of Henry I. to that of Richard II., when it merged in the family of Greene, Lord of Drayton, Co. Northampton, in whom the manors of Westbury and Warminster continued for a certain period. Some notice of the family will be found in Hoare's "Hundred of Warminster," as well as a reprint of the whole of the curious contract for the tomb. The last will of Henry VI. contains a minute and technical description of his colleges of Eton and Cambridge.

"This Indenture ymade at Newe Salesbury the xvj day of Decembre yn the xxiij^{ti}. zere of the regnyng of Kyng Harry the vj^{te}. bytwene William Ludlowe of the on party and John Fayrebowe carpenter of Busshopestrowe yn the countie of Wiltes of the other party Witnessith that the seyde John shal make to the seyde William an hows with ynne the Boor azeynst the Market place of Salesbury forseyd conteynyng yn lengthe lxiij. fot and with ynne the wallys .xx^{ti}. fote And the groundsilles yn brede of xv ynche And yn thiknesse x ynch And xiiij principal postis eny post xvi fote of lengthe and yn brede xiij ynche and yn thiknesse xij ynche And every somer * yn brede xvj ynche and yn thiknesse xv ynche And every juyste viij ynche yn thiknesse and ix ynche in brede And x ynche by twene every juyste And every byndyngbeme yn thiknesse ix ynche and yn brede xv ynche And every walplate of viij ynche yn thiknesse and ix ynche yn brede And every cours restour iiij ynche thikke at the top and at the fote v ynche And of brede vij ynche at the fote and v ynche at the top And with vj wyndowes clenly accordaunt And ij stayers And by twene every restour ix ynche And the Sideresons yn brede of xj ynche and vj ynches of thiknesse with braces wel accordyng. Whiche hows above seyde shal be wel and trewly made of sufficiant tymber and clene withoute sape or wyndshake reprevable and redy to be set up and arered by the feste of the Nativite of oure Lady next comyng after this present date. To the whiche hows the seyde John shal fynde alle maner tymber bordis for doris and for wyndowes and stodes to alle the walles. And the seyde William shal fynde al maner naylle yregare † breydyng ‡ helyng § wallyng and masons work thereto langyng Also ij men

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* A main beam or girder; the name is now seldom used except in the composite term breast-sommer. The breast-summer was that summer which was in the front of a wooden house, as it is now used for the great beam in front over a shop window.—*Parker's Glossary.*

† *i.e.*, Iron gear.

‡ Boarding.

§ The covering or roof of a house.

laboryng with the seyde John vij dayes at the reryng of the forseyde hows with mete and wages and mannys mete and drynke for alle the cariage of the seyde tymber at Salesbury at the seyde William his owen coste And also paye to the seyde John for the seyde hows makyng and tymber therto fynding yn alle maner wyse after the forme above seyde ymade and performed as workmanship axeth xx.ti of money at iij dayes to be payd that ys for to seye at the begynnyng of the seyde hows makyng yn tymber hewyng x markes: at the bryngyng hom of the seyde tymber to Salesbury .x. markes and whanne the seyde hows ys ful made and doris and wyndowes y set up and hangeth .x. markes. To alle these covenauntes wel and trewly to be performed the seyde Wylliam yn his party and Robert Warmwell bynden hem to the seyde John yn xxti to paye yn the feste of oure Lady above seyde And also yn the same wyse the seyde John yn his party and Symond Poy bynden hem to the sede William yn xxti to pay yn the feste above seyde In Witnesse wherof the seylles of the seyd parteys of these yndentures interchaungeably to these present indentures er set the day and zer aboveseyde."

[*Endorsed*]

"for byldyng a howse in the blew bore."

The house was evidently completely framed of wood, and required no other support. The enormous dimensions of the timbers used are in striking contrast to the lath-and-plaster style of building of the present day. There are few houses of this period now remaining intact, but the core of many modernized dwellings are to be found where the huge timber-framing forms the main support of a new-looking building.

The sum of £20, the amount of Fayrebowe's contract, would represent something like £200 of our present money. Ten marks of 13*s.* 4*d.* each form one third of the whole payment.

It is impossible now to fix the exact locality of the house in question, as the original "blew bore" no longer exists. Mr. Hatcher in his "History of Salisbury, has shewn that the Market Place was formerly more limited in its dimensions than at the present time, and that the existing Winchester Street was continued into Castle Street, along what is now the Blue Boar Row; consequently the old "blew bore" must have once projected into what is now the north side of the Market Place, the remaining three sides being formed by the present Oatmeal Row, Butcher's Row, and Queen Street. This may be inferred from documents, dated 1360, and again in 1422, in which mention is made of houses situated at the corner of Winchester

Street and Minster Street. The name of Blue Boar has generally been supposed to come from the sign of an inn which formerly stood on the site. The blue boar was a Yorkist badge and was borne by Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV: he died in 1460. It is possible, however, that the name had an earlier and different origin. The White Boar was also a popular Yorkist sign during the reign of Richard III., that king's cognizance being a boar passant argent, whence the rhyme which cost the maker, William Collyngborne, his life :—

> "The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog
> Rule all England under the Hog."

The cat alludes to Catesby, the rat to Ratcliff, and the hog to King Richard. After Richard's defeat the White Boars were changed into Blue Boars, this being the easiest and cheapest way of altering the sign, and so the white boar of Richard became the blue boar of the Earl of Oxford, who had lately contributed to place Henry VII. on the throne. An inn bearing the sign of the Blue Boar formerly existed on a spot near the Saracen's Head, in the present Blue Boar Row. It was in the yard of this inn that the mutilated remains of a body were discovered a few years ago, and supposed at the time to be those of the Duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in the Market Place of Salisbury, in 1484.

It seems probable that William Ludlow, for whom the house was built, was the Lord of Hill Deverill. In a MS. formerly preserved at Great Chalfield he is mentioned as "William Ludlow, of Hill Deverell, Boteler to King Henry IV., and King Henry V. and VI., bore these Arms, Argent, a chevron Sable, three marten's heads of the same erased; this gentleman is buried in St. Thomas's Church in Salisbury, under a marble tomb, north side of the high altar, the south side of an aisle, which aisle he new ceiled and painted, and set with escutcheons of his own arms and his wife." According to Hatcher, the altar-tomb of William Ludlow was taken, some years since, from the situation it had long occupied on the north side of the chancel, and broken to pieces, and the remains of himself, his wife, and child, thrown into some unknown corner. As Ludlow's

seal has disappeared from the contract, no information can be gained from his arms; but as he seems to have found the main timbers of the building himself, probably from his estate at Deverill, and employed Fayrebowe, a carpenter at Bishopstrow, in his own neighbourhood, to do the work, it is highly probable that he is the person alluded to. The name of Ludlow is not found amongst any of the citizens or officials of Salisbury at that time.

The prosperity and affluence of the inhabitants of Salisbury at this period are proved by repeated applications for loans to the king. In 1444 Adam Moleyns, Dean of the Cathedral, was the bearer of a privy seal, addressed to the Mayor and Commonalty, to borrow a sum of money. A convention was accordingly held on the 27th July, and a resolution taken to advance forty pounds, provided sufficient security were offered for the repayment. The money was, as usual, raised by contributions from individuals. Early in the reign of Henry VI. we find proof that a valuable and extensive traffic must then have been carried on at the fairs of Salisbury.

Both the sureties mentioned in the deed, Simon Poy and Robert Warmwell, were persons of note in the city and must have been well known at the time. They are frequently mentioned by Mr. Hatcher in his "History of Salisbury" in connexion with the corporation and in other matters of interest at that period. Simon Poy, on behalf of Fayrebowe, was Mayor of Salisbury in 1452, also one of the members for the city in 1455. About this time appears the first specific entry in the corporation accounts of the wages allowed to the representatives of the city in Parliament. In the early years of the reign of Henry VI. they received two shillings a day, during the respective terms of their service; this rate of payment appears to have been generally observed. It is also worthy of notice, that in 1448 a resolution was taken in the convocation to elect none as Members of Parliament, who were not citizens and resident in the city.

Robert Warmwell, mentioned in the indenture as the surety on behalf of William Ludlow, was of a family of some importance. He was Mayor in 1419, and again in 1429. King Henry VI. visited the city in 1434. After the election of a Mayor on All Souls Day,

a resolution was passed in Convocation, that, against the arrival of the King, liveries of green colour should be ordered under the inspection of Robert Warmwell and others. It was also settled, that the minstrels should be retained as formerly, and receive their livery before the Feast of the Nativity. Robert Warmwell was a draper, and left a bequest of twenty pounds to the Mayor and Commonalty; the money was applied to the construction of the bars or gates, as the means of improving the defences of the city.

The name of Warmwell appears more than once in the form of commemoration for the deceased members of the confraternity of St. George. The religious meetings of this guild were probably held in St. Thomas's Church. The spandrels of the arches on the south wall of the chancel, forming one side of the Swayne Chapel, are covered with badges of St. George, brought to light a few years since, when alterations were being made: a drawing from a fresco of that saint, which was necessarily destroyed at the time, is preserved in the Salisbury Museum. William Warmwell, who died in 1399, left to the altar of St. Michael, in the Church of St. Thomas, a missal and a chalice, silver gilt, a water vessel, silver gilt, and a pax-bred of ivory, with harness, silver and gilt; also a psaltery, to be chained in the cell, or seat, which he had been accustomed to occupy. He seems to have had some superstitious partiality for numbers, as he directed that 3500 masses be celebrated for the welfare of his soul and the souls of those to whom he is under obligation, and 3500 pence to be distributed singly among feeble poor, within the city and without.

From the will of Joanna, wife of William Warmwell, who bequeathed to her husband a corner tenement in Minster Street, which is called Castle Street, we learn that the whole line, now called Castle Street, Minster Street, and High Street, in the earliest times, bore the general name of Minster Street. The lower portion received the name of High Street, which it still bears, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. This William Warmwell is the subject of a curious notice in Hatcher's "History of Salisbury," page 100. "William Teynterer, junior, at his death, bequeathed the value of certain hereditaments for charitable purposes, to the Mayor and

Commonalty, as forming the confraternity of St. George, and to the inhabitants of the city, for the benefit of their prayers. The sale of the property was left to William Warmwell, his executor, a citizen of note and substance. Alicia, the widow of Teynterer, married in second nuptials George Meriot, and died in 1406. Warmwell having for several years neglected to fulfill the injunctions of her first husband, she adopted a singular expedient to recal him to a sense of his duty. As all wills and other instruments were publicly read in the Mayor's Court, she directed hers to be written in Latin, the legal language of the period, but in the midst of it she introduced an apostrophe, in English, to Warmwell; which, as if coming from the grave, could not fail to raise against him the horror and indignation of the city." A literal copy of this pungent document then follows.

About the period of the building of Ludlow's house the city was honoured with several royal visits. In 1445 all citizens keeping house within the town were ordered to provide a gown of blood-colour, for the advent of the Queen, under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1448, also, all the citizens, and all of sufficient substance, were enjoined to provide themselves with a good gown of blood colour, and a red hood, in anticipation of the arrival of the king, under a penalty of 13*s.* 4*d.* The marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou was unpopular, and, together with the reverses of the English arms in France, led to the Cade rebellion. In the following year (1449) turbulent spirits were not wanting in this city to imitate the example in other quarters. Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, whose unfortunate connexion with the Court had already rendered him unpopular, was murdered by a party of miscreants, led by a Salisbury "brewer," at Edington. After the suppression of the rebellion, the remains of Cade were exposed in several places; among them was Salisbury, where the populace had given so sanguinary a proof of an evil disposition. The King appears to have visited Winchester soon after the establishment of order; from thence he came to Clarendon, and during his stay he is reported to have inflicted condign punishment on the wretches concerned in the murder of the late Bishop.

The accounts of the expenditure of the Mayor at this period are

curious, and form a striking contrast to the usages of the present day. During the mayoralty of John Hall in 1451, we find :—

"A gift to our Lord the King, for six large oxen and two smaller ones, and for fifty sheep, £12. 14*s.* 0*d.*

For a hogshead of Wine, six quarters of corn, six pipes of ale, given to the Reverend Father, Richard, Bishop of Sarum, at the time of his installation, £13. 13*s.* 4*d.*

Paid William Swayne and Edmund Penston, citizens of the said city, for the Parliament at Westminster, which terminated at Leicester, £22. 0*s.* 0*d.*

For a pipe of wine, given to Mr. John Seymour, Sheriff of Wilts, to conciliate his good offices, 65 shillings."

A great deal of curious information concerning the habits and possessions of a citizen of Salisbury during the fifteenth century may be gleaned from Hatcher and Benson's History, already quoted; several elaborate inventories are printed there, giving the most minute account of the contents of a private house of that period, also the details of the furniture and fittings of the George hostelry in 1473, shewing the rough sort of accommodation then afforded to travellers at a good inn. At this time too the citizens of Salisbury must have been excited by the strange and tedious proceedings connected with the canonization of St. Osmund, who died in 1099, but was only inserted in the catalogue of Saints in 1457 by Pope Calixto.

It only remains to add, that the original indenture is now preserved in the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum.

The Literary Treasures of Longleat.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.*

I WAS invited some time ago by your Secretary to contribute a paper for your meeting at Frome, and with the invitation he suggested a subject on which I was to write. It was a very good one, but in one respect too good, inasmuch as it made it necessary for me to compress into a very small compass and to put into such form as should not weary an audience, halting for half-an-hour on an out-door excursion, material which, properly developed, would really fill a volume and that not a small one.[1] The subject was "The Literary Treasures of Longleat."

These treasures are of two kinds—printed, or in MS. The printed treasures fill two very large rooms: that which is called the Lower or modern library on the ground floor; and the upper or Old library at the top of the house. The Lower library contains a very fine collection of books, formed chiefly by the grandfather of the present owner of Longleat. There are Greek and Latin classical authors of superb editions; also many of our rarest county histories, all the four earliest editions of Shakespeare,[2] and a vast number of "rarities"

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* Read in the Hall, at Longleat, before the Somersetshire Archæological Society, on Thursday, 12th August, 1875.

[1] A few trifling additions have been made to the paper since it was read, but even in its present form, the reader will kindly please to understand that it presents a very meagre account of the contents of Longleat Library and Muniment Room.

[2] On the fly-leaf, at the end of the first edition of Shakespeare, in the library at Longleat, are the following verses, in an old hand:—

"An Epitaph upon Shakespeare.

Renouned Chaucer, Lie a thought more nigh
To rare Beaumond: and Learned Beaumond Lie
A little neerer Spencer, to make roome
For Shakespeare in your threefold fourefold tombe.
To lie all foure in one bed make a shift,
For, untill doomsday hardly will a fift
Betwixt this day and that [by Fate] bee slaine,
or whom your Curtaines need be drawn againe;

suited to the appetite of book-lovers of every species. I say "every," because there are several varieties of book-lovers. Some like books for the old title-pages, some for the black letter, some for the illustrations, some for the bindings, and now and then a few for the contents. There are some of the most valuable works printed by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde and other early brethren in the trade: and a very early edition, in black letter, of Chaucer, whose first editor, by the way, was WILLIAM THYNNE, uncle to the builder of the very house in which you are assembled. A little volume called "Thealma" bears the autograph of "Iz. Wa."—Izaac Walton, the fisherman: and another book, a folio edition of Diogenes Laertius, which belonged to Bishop Ken and contains on the fly-leaf a Latin sentence in his (very rare) handwriting, has been so constantly inquired for and inspected by the good bishop's admirers that the binding is broken with frequent opening.

Then there is a very fine copy of a work called "Halstead's Genealogies." This is a "History of the Mordaunt Family," (including that of others, as the Mauduits of Warminster,) printed under a fictitious name, in 1685; a work of which probably not more than twenty-five copies were printed, as only seventeen are known, one of which a few years ago sold for £240. Also a fine copy of Richard Grafton's Bible, 1541. This appears to have been a present from some Royalty to Sir J. Thynne, the builder of Longleat, and in it he has written on the fly-leaves entries of the births, deaths and marriages in his family. Having seen the fine room you will easily understand

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But if precedency of death doth barre
A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre
Under this carved marble of thine owne
Sleep, rare Tragedian SHAKESPEARE, sleep alone.
That unto Us and others it may bee
Honor hereafter to bee layd by thee."

Below the verses another (also old) hand has written "graphicè scribis."

These verses were composed by William Basse, and were very popular, being the earliest Elegy on Shakespeare. It was found in a MS. written after the year 1621, entitled "Basse his Elegie on Poett Shakespeare who died in April, 1616." The lines, somewhat varying from the above, are printed in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, 1862, p. 281: where Mr. J. O. Halliwell, the contributor, observes that W. Basse had probably expected a cenotaph to be erected to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey.

that it is impossible to describe in detail the many beautiful volumes which it contains. So I pass to the Old library.

The Old library contains a vast collection of books, of which many of more modern date have been put there merely for convenience sake, but the greater part formed the library of Longleat at the time of the first Lord Weymouth, who died in 1714. These old books were chiefly collected by him, and among them are many curious and rare ones upon almost every subject, but especially Divinity, and still more especially the controversial Divinity of the latter part of the seventeenth century—from 1660. The first Lord Weymouth was, as I need hardly say, the friend and protector of Bishop Ken; and the country being at the time torn to pieces by theological warfare, much connected with the great political changes of the time, Lord Weymouth and Bishop Ken, between them, seem to have entered into these subjects with deep feeling and earnestness, and to have gathered almost everything that was printed during their day. There is a vast number of tracts, answers, rejoinders, and replications, all no doubt in their turn eagerly looked for and read as they came out, but which now stand, in grim rank and file, bound in plain and homely black calf, exhibiting no outward sign of bookbinding vanity. No drawing-room table volumes are these, nor at all likely to be met with at those establishments so fascinating to a large portion of modern readers, the railway bookstalls. Yet in these old dim volumes the controversialists of our day would find that many of the points they are fighting about had been fought about before, over and over again, though we seem to be as far as ever from a harmonious conclusion.

It is, I believe, not an uncommon notion among the public that all the books in the Old library were Bishop Ken's, the room being often called Bishop Ken's Library. It was no doubt the daily living place of the good bishop, who probably had all his own books there at the time. But the books now there were, for the greater part, the first Lord Weymouth's. The addition made to them by the bishop's last Will was as follows:

"I leave and bequeath to the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Weymouth, in case he outlives me, all my books of which his Lordship has not the duplicates,

as a memorial of my gratitude for his signal and continual favours; I leave to the Library of the Cathedral at Wells, all my books of which my Lord Weymouth has the duplicates and of which the Library there has not: or, in case I outlive my Lord, I leave to the Library aforesaid (Wells) to make their choice of all of which they have not duplicates; and the remainder of my books not chosen for the Library, I leave to be divided between my two nephews, Isaac Walton and John Beacham, excepting those books which I shall dispose of to others . . . . I bequeath to the Library at Bath all my French, Italian, and Spanish books." *

According to an old catalogue preserved in the library the number of books, pamphlets, &c., now there, that had belonged to the bishop, is nearly one thousand.

There is a large collection of Civil War tracts, and a great number of old geographical works of voyages and travels descriptive of the world as then known. Also many valuable works on antiquities, coins, and the like, such as are now seldom met with in private houses; fine and costly volumes, the like of which indeed are not often

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*Printed in Bowles's Life of Bishop Ken, vol. ii., p. 306.

I may take this opportunity of printing a letter upon this subject, which I discovered at Longleat, written by Mr. Hawkins, the Bishop's executor, to Thomas, Viscount Weymouth.

"My Lord. Knowing certainly of the account Mr. Ord gave yr. Ldship concerning the death of my Ld. Bp. *Ken* made me presume on pardon for omitting the giving it myself at that time both of hurry and affliction and being now unable to give farther particulars than are known to yr. Ldship. I shall only add that by his Will now in my custody (and which I shall copy from), he gives to your Ldship all his books of which your Ldship has not the duplicates as a memoriale of his gratitude for your signall and continued favours, wh. *Will*, if yr. Ldship gives leave I shall show you when I can wait on you: in the meantime and because the remainder of his books are to severall I have ventured to lock his Dore, of which Mr. Ord has the key and I myself have lockt on a padlock. I am as in Duty bound so with great respect, My Lord, yr. Ldship's most obedient servant,

WILL. HAWKINS.

Sarum Close,
March 27, 1711.
To Rt. Hon. Thos. Ld. Vist. Weymouth,
St. James's Square, London."

I also discovered at Longleat, thirteen original letters in the handwriting of the Bishop himself, which were quite unknown to his biographers.

The following account of the Bishop's death is from a letter by Hilkiah Bedford to Thomas Hearne.

"May 17, 1711.

Bp. Ken died at Longleat March 19, 1710-1, a little after 5 in the morning, and was buryed about the same hour on the Wednesday following in the parish (Frome) Church-yard. His last illness of about 8 days continuance, mostly a difficulty of breathing, call'd by the Physicians a nervous Asthma. Siez'd first in January last abt. 5 in the morning wth. violent coughing at Mrs. Thynne's at Lewston in Dorcetshire. About a week after he was again early in the morning taken with a dead palsey in his left side, wch. lasted a day or 2, but the hand remain'd useless to his death. About a fortnight after that, he was siez'd with spitting blood, yet he was well enough to remove to Longleat 9 days before he dyed, and design'd in 3 or 4 days after he got thither to go to Bathe."

"Jun. 19, 1711.

Bp. Ken was bury'd before 6 in the morning by his own appointment, for the more privacy: attended to the grave only by my Lord Weymouth's steward (I think) and 12 poor men that carried him by turns and had 5*s* a-piece for it: the coffin cover'd with a few yards of black cloth instead of a Pall, and that given to the Minister of the Parish for a gown."

printed in our days. I must not omit to mention that the room I am speaking of—the Old library upstairs—is indebted for its contents not only to Lord Weymouth and Bishop Ken. At the further end of it, occupying the entire wall, is a very wonderful collection of publications, all upon one single subject, but that a subject of never-ceasing interest—the great French Revolution of 1792. The collection embraces, I believe, almost everything that was published in France during that terrible period of the history of France; and it includes all books, pamphlets, and narratives published not only in Paris itself, but in all the provincial cities and towns; describing all the horrors that took place over the whole country. Whether quite unique or not I cannot say, but this collection is certainly a very remarkable and valuable one, and was added to the literary treasures of the house by the present owner. Taking this Old library of Longleat altogether, it is, both from its mere construction, as well as its interesting contents, one of the most curious rooms to be seen in any house in England.

I now come to the MS. treasures. I don't know how it is, but so it is—there is always a certain charm about an old MS. which a printed book does not possess. If of any printed book there are only two copies left or known, still there may be more yet to come to light. At any rate it has been printed, and so far is supposed—if forgotten or rare now—to have been better known once. But an old MS.!—which none or few have ever seen, which has never been printed—about that there is an undefinable and sometimes romantic idea that it must contain something wonderfully curious. So, carrying you in my cursory description to the collection of MSS. in the Old library, I must say at once that it is simply possible only to give a very merest outline of what they are; for they cannot be properly appreciated, even by connoisseurs, without being very carefully and leisurely examined one by one.

The MSS. of which I am speaking occupy two shelves; total length 36ft. They are volumes large and small, from largest folio to smallest duodecimo. They were some years ago in a dilapidated condition externally, and the ancient leaves were on the eve of parting company with one another, through mere antiquity; but they were

most carefully attended to, and were all, by the order of their present owner, placed in proper hands in London, and now stand secure for many generations to come. Not to weary you with too minute detail, I will name a few of the most important among them. The Bible in English, after the translation usually ascribed to John Wiclif, 15th century; a large thick folio, pure vellum, 398 pages; a fine and valuable MS. written in a plain Gothic hand, profusely ornamented with initial letters in blue and minium. It contains the whole of the Old and New Testaments, beginning with the prefatory epistle of St. Jerome, addressed to "Brother Ambrose." It once belonged to Sir Henry Spelman. "The Homilies of Origen on the Old Testament," a very fine folio volume in vellum of 146 leaves. A Latin psalter of the fourteenth century with initial letters. Another noble volume of the twelfth century, the works of Zacharias of Chrysopolis. I need scarcely remind you that on the breaking up of the monasteries the fine old MSS. which had been written and preserved in their libraries met with very rough usage. They were converted into covers of copy books, used for strong backing in binding of printed books; indeed for all sorts of purposes. I have found several at Longleat scribbled over by persons trying their pens or drawing caricatures. And in this particular volume of Zacharias of Chrysopolis there is on one page a farm bailiff's account —"William Hayman's account for bullocks, 12 May, 35 Henry VIII." Next is a "Liber Pontificalis" of thirteenth century, containing the forms of certain services used in consecration of churches or cemeteries, in the office of matrimony, benediction of rings, appointment of abbesses, and the like. "The Life of Christ," by Bonaventure, Bishop of Albania and Cardinal, translated into English by John Morton; fifteenth century. This is a very interesting MS., in the quaintest English possible, and intended, as the preface says, "for folk of simple understanding: children that haven nede to be fedde with mylke of light doctrine, and not with sad meat of great clergy and high contemplation." The spelling and words are very curious. The teaching of St. John, it says, was given as "treacle" against the venom of "dyverse heretykes;" and instead of being called the Redeemer, our Lord is spoken of as the "agen-

bier" (Buyer-again). The elders are called "Aldermen:" the Ruler of the Feast at the Marriage in Cana "The Archi-tricline" (from the Greek).[1] There is also a volume of old English religious poems of the fifteenth century, some of them very simple and touching, none of which, so far as I know, have ever been printed. Lydgate's "Life of the Virgin Mary," a MS. of the fifteenth century, afterwards printed by Caxton.

Among a different class of subjects, relating to monastic establishments, may be named "Privileges of the Sanctuary of St. Peter at Westminster," an interesting MS. volume of the fifteenth century. Prefixed to it is a charter of King Edgar, by which he ordains that the Church of St. Peter at Westminster shall become a sanctuary for fugitives of every degree; and other charters of Edward the Confessor and William I. confirming the privileges. There are many registers of various abbeys, and amongst them one of great Glastonbury, of the fourteenth century, a fine folio of 440 pages in vellum. Prefixed to it is a Bull of Pope John XXI., addressed to Adam, abbot of the monastery, according permission for his confessor to

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[1] The following are specimens of the style of the "Speculum Vitæ:"—

I. Christ before Pilate.

"There was geven him none reste but ever travayle in paynes and sorowe. And yf thou wilt knowe in what conflytte and batayle he was, beholde and see. First, one despitouslye leyth hande on him and taketh him. Another crying pytteth upon him blaspheme. Another spyteth in his face. Another sotely asketh of him manye questyones in desceyte for to acuse him. Another draweth him forth befor the Justice. Another styffely accuseth him. Another hydeth his eyen. Another buffeteth and scorneth him. Another dispoileth him. Another byndeth him hard to the pylere. Another with sharpe scorges sore beteth him. Another unbyndeth him. Another casteth on him that olde sylkene mantelle. Anothere putteth in to his hand a rede. Another taketh it wodelye from him and smyteth his sore hede full of thornes. Another in scorne kneleth before him: and so forth now one and now another. Divers and mayne wth. alle ther wytte and migt besyen them to tormente him in the worste maner. They leiden him as a theefe nowe to the byshop Anne and now to Cayphas now to Pylate and now to Herowde: now hyderward, and nowe thedirward: now inne and now owte. Oo my lorde God what is alle this. Loo, thenketh ye not here a full harde and contennele bitter bataylle. Yitt abyde a litle whyle and ye shal seeharder."

II. The taking down from the Cross.

"Take now good hede in maner of taking down. There are sette tweyne ladders on the sydes of the Crosse, one agens anothere. and Joseph gothe up on the ladder, standying on the right halfe, and besyeth him to drawe out the nayles of the handes: but hit is full harde. for the nayle is grete and longe and hard dryven in to the tree: and with owte grete thrystyng downe of oure lorde's handes it may noute be done, but that is no fors, for oure lorde knoweth that he doth alle trewly and with gode entente: and therefore he accepted the dede. And when the nayle was drawe out, John makyth sygne to Nichodeme for to take hit to him privily: so that oure lady see hit nout for disconfortyng. And after in the same maner Nichodeme drawith owte the nayle of the lyfte hande, and takith hit privily to John. And then Nichodeme cometh down for to draw owt the thrydde nayle of the feete."

forgive the sins of the said abbot when in *articulo mortis*, like as the Roman Pontiffs were accustomed to do. This is dated at Avignon. Then follow the prefatory matters appointed by Edward I. to be prefixed to all monastic chartularies, having relation to his right to a feudal superiority over Scotland. These are six in number :—1. The Genealogy of the Kings of England, (beginning from Adam) down to Edward III. 2. Concerning the origin of Giants in the Island of Albion. 3. Of the length and breadth of England. 4. A citatory letter of Pope Bonafice for the kingdom of Scotland. 5. A Declaration of the King of England about the affairs of Scotland. 6. A letter of the barons to Pope Boniface on behalf of the rights of the Kingdom of Scotland. The date of the last charter registered appears to be about 1361. At page 427 is a register of deeds in the Treasury at Wells in the eighth year of Bishop William de Marchia, A.D. 1301. This list is not found in the Glastonbury Cartulary in the Bodleian Library, (Wood's MS. A.) There are also registers, more or less perfect, of Maiden Bradley Priory, Co. Wilts, Cirencester Abbey, Co. Glouc., and of St. Mary of Tame, Co. Oxon. Also a rental of the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida, Co. Cardigan, a book of expenses of Shaftesbury Abbey, 24 H. VIII., Sir W. Uvedale being then Seneschal, and a rental of lands at Prestbury, belonging to the Bishoprick of Hereford. The very old register of Hereford of *temp.* Edw. I. or II., mentioned in Tanner's "Notitia," p. 172, as being at Longleat, is not to be found there now.

Another most curious and valuable MS. relating to Glastonbury Abbey, entirely unknown to Bishop Tanner, Dugdale, and other collectors of monastic records, came to light only a few months ago. It is a Latin Register of the Abbey made in the first year of Henry de Soliaco, Abbot, A.D. 1189, 1 Rich. I., only 100 years later than the Domesday Book of William I. It is, in fact, a "Domesday Book of the Abbey," corresponding exactly, in form, with the "Domesday Book of St. Paul's London," published by the Camden Society, and so admirably edited by the late Archdeacon Hale. But besides the estates belonging to the abbey, with the names of the tenants, description of their tenures, &c., it contains an account of the establishment maintained in the abbey itself, the different officers,

the sources of their revenue, perquisites, and duties: all extremely interesting.

Next comes a very curious old book, commonly called "Liber Rubeus Bathoniæ," or "The Red Book of Bath." Why called "Red" is not very intelligible (unless from a few rubrical letters here and there in the text), because it is bound in *white* pigskin on thick wood, with brass bosses on the sides. Inside of the upper cover is a square hole or socket let into the wood and nearly the size of the cover itself, secured with a door of thin iron plate covered with leather and studded with brass nails. In this were formerly kept the balances for weighing gold, as appears by the first entry in the catalogue of contents. It is of the year 1428 and once belonged to the monastery at Bath, and came into the hands of Dr. Thomas Guidot, who dying in 1703 bequeathed it to the first Lord Weymouth. I had always expected to find in this old MS. a good deal about the history of Bath and its Abbey. But it is quite a different thing. It is a collection of most miscellaneous articles, about thirty in number. There are short treatises about weights and measures, the gospels, calendars in rhyme, an essay on phlebotomy, the ringing (or rather beating) of bells—"*pulsatio campanarum*"—showing how far that enlivening recreation is founded upon ecclesiastical law and how far upon custom. Then come treatises on the office of coroner, a charter of the forest, the names of those who came over with William I., an assize of bread and beer, measurement of land with the acre-staff, and "The Gestes of King Arthur" in rhyme. This is a poem of 642 lines, and is so curious that it was printed as the first issue of the publications of the Early English Text Society. At intervals of fifty or sixty verses the reader is desired by the quaint old poet to pause and say a Paternoster and Ave. At the end of the Red Book, in more modern writing, is an account of the setting up of a pillory in the City of Bath, in A.D. 1412, with a drawing of the uncomfortable instrument.

In the class of historical works one of the finest MSS. is the "Wars and Antiquities of the Jews," by Josephus. This is a large and noble volume of the fifteenth century, in a clear hand, on pure vellum. Another MS. is a curious volume of A.D. 1538 (30 Hen. VIII.),

a list of all the English residents in the town of Calais at that time, when it belonged to England; the names of the men, women and children, strangers and inhabitants, scattered through the twelve wards of His Majesty's town; with devices for its fortification, victualling, wages of workmen, &c. Then a MS. copy of a very celebrated book called "Leicester's Commonwealth," a virulent attack by Parsons the Jesuit (or some one else so called), upon the character and life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. This was secretly circulated, but only in manuscript, for many years, Queen Elizabeth and the Privy Council having published a protest against it as a slanderous story. A greater pack of calumnies against a very eminent man was perhaps never whipped up together, and unluckily Scott's novel of Kenilworth, being built upon it (apparently without the slightest previous inquiry into the truth or falsehood of its statements) is not only full of the grossest historical errors, but has stamped Dudley's name with a most unjust stigma, which may probably never be effaced. There are also some volumes of very valuable original letters, which came from Sheffield Castle when it was dismantled. They are addressed to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, to whom the Castle belonged, and are written by the great Statesmen and others of Queen Elizabeth's time, including several from Her Majesty herself to the Earl. One begins "My good old man." In one of these volumes are several letters from the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, the first cousin of King James I. There is also in four large folio volumes a complete history of the Talbot family (Earls of Shrewsbury), compiled entirely out of the records at Sheffield Castle, the greater part of which are now deposited in the Herald's College, London. There are volumes of State papers, ambassadors' correspondence, and the like. A great number also of fantastic essays on alchemy and leech-craft; strange prescriptions and antidotes; astronomical tables and astrology; discourses on coinage, and on—that secret of secrets—the philosopher's stone; and of ancient law treatises a very large collection; also many records of Star Chamber proceedings, which are scarce and valuable. There are several volumes of very old English and French poetry in manuscript. A treatise on chivalry, called "Le Livre des Faiz

d'Armes' by Christine of Pisa, an Italian Lady of the fifteenth century; and another by the same authoress, called "Hector and Othea," translated into English by Stephen Scrope, of Castle Combe, in Wiltshire, son-in-law of Sir John Falstaff (not the fat knight of Shakespeare). "The Temple of Glasse," a poem commonly said to have been written by Chaucer, and included in his works. But it was not by him. It is now called the "Isle of Ladies." The Longleat copy is the only MS. of it known. Also several other MSS. of the poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. In one called "Ipomedon," by Lydgate, there is the written autograph (of great rarity) of Richard III., when Duke of Gloucester, with a motto "Tant le desirée." I may just mention as a sample of the value of MSS., especially when, as in this case, they happen to contain any rare autograph, that only a few weeks ago at an auction in London, a little MS. which happened to have this very autograph signature in it was sold for the marvellous sum of £331.

Besides all the books and MSS. to which I have only very slightly referred there is a vast quantity of original documents at Longleat, which have been all arranged. For easier classification they may be distinguished as 1. PERSONAL, and 2. TOPOGRAPHICAL. The Personal documents relate to families, and include a great deal that refers to many of the historical houses of the country. I only name, very cursorily, a few: Stafford Duke of Buckingham, the Veres, Seymour Duke of Somerset: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, (among which was found an original letter from Amy Robsart) and the three Earls of Essex of the Devereux family. Also twenty eight volumes of Papers collected by Whitelocke the ambassador to Sweden, and a chest full of documents, State-papers and correspondence of Henry Coventry, Secretary of State in 1672. Likewise a quantity of original letters of celebrated historical characters, among which is the autograph letter of Cardinal Wolsey, written on the day of his degradation, to Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, signed "T. Cardinalis Ebor miserrimus."

The Topographical department is very large and curious, containing documents relating to ancient estates in a great many counties in England and Wales, especially, of course, Somerset and Wilts. There

are several original deeds many court rolls, and the like, relating to Glastonbury Abbey.

That there is, besides all the above-mentioned, an enormous quantity of deeds, letters &c., relating to Longleat itself and the successive owners of the estate scarcely requires to be mentioned. The whole of these documents have been put in order and a summary of them printed in the Reports of the Historical Commissioners. As these Reports present forty eight folio pages of double column, in small type, of the heads of the Marquis of Bath's papers, it is out of the question to attempt going into particular details. I will simply say that next to the celebrated "Hatfield Papers," belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury, it is one of the most important private collections to be met with. It is thus described in the words of the Commissioners:—"The collection of the Marquis of Bath is a wonderfully complete and vivid illustration of our civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical history, and from the earliest times. Its value for historical purposes can scarcely be over-rated."

J. E. Jackson.

The Story of Seven Children Born at a Birth.

Dear Sir,

Having a faint recollection that, when I was a boy and visiting at Pewsey about 1820, I was taken to some church and saw there a sieve in which several children who had been born at a birth had been brought to the font and christened, I enquired about it of the Reverend the Rector of Pewsey, and by his kindness and that of the Rev. Edward Hill, the Rector of Wishford, I am able to communicate the enclosed, and trust that it may be worth a place in our journal.

Yours faithfully,

R. C. A. Prior.

To the Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine.

"*Wishford Rectory, Salisbury,*
May 31*st*, 1875.

Dear Sir,

I have much pleasure in supplying information about this parish, which is somewhat rich in old customs and traditions. I will enclose with this all the authentic memoranda I have been able to collect about the seven children of one birth, brought to church in a sieve to be baptized.

The first is written by Roger Powell, who was curate here for thirty years, 1612—1642; his rector was inducted in 1573, exactly one hundred years after the death of Sir Thomas Bonham, and from him, I suppose, Mr. Powell had the tradition; the two effigies of Sir Thomas and his wife are still in excellent preservation, but only three of the brass figures of the children are remaining, though we can trace the matrices and lead holes of the other six.

My second memorandum is a note from Aubrey.

The old schoolmaster who made the third memorandum in 1828 is still living here.

For my part I am disposed to accept the story as quite true, with one very important modification—to read *three* instead of *seven* children: or, if it were possible for a woman to have seven at a birth, I would suppose that four were still-born. This would agree exactly with Aubrey's account, and would be confirmed by the remains of the brasses on the great stone slab, of which three appear of like size, and the latter ones dwindle down much smaller.

Yours, dear Sir, faithfully,
Edward Hill."

"The legend of the seven children of one birth, brought to the Church of Wishford Magna in a sieve.

I. from the fly-leaf of the oldest Register-book (1558—1640).—

'There is in the bodie of our Church a monument, an ancient monument of stone of the ancestors of the Bonhams and said to be that of Bonham and his wife that had seven children at one birth: the inscription of the tombe is this that follows, word for word:—Hic jacet Thomas Bonham, armiger, quondam patronus istius ecclesiæ, qui quidem Thomas obiit vicesimo nono die Maii, anno Dom: 1473; et Editha uxor ejus, quæ quidem Editha obiit vicesimo sexto die Aprilis, anno Dom: 1469. Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.—They were both buried under the great Marble Stone in the middle alley of our church, and the inscription was cutt in brass. Beneath this inscription in the lower end of the same marble stone toward the Choire there were the small statues or images of nine young children set in brass, all wch I myselfe knew standing there about twentie yeares; but of late one of them is broken out of the stone by meanes of some violence and negligence of them that wrought in the Church and laid a great quarrie stone uppon the grave of Robert Hillman lately buried. The statues of the said Thomas and Edith Bonham are said to lie in a hollow vaulted arch under the wall on the North side of the Church, and such statues indeed there are. His statue lies next to the doore of the said side and her statue at the feet of his.

By mee Roger Powell, Curate there
Aprill the 10th Anno Dom: 1640.'

II Aubrey, after quoting the inscription, says (Nat. Hist. p. 71): 'They lye both buried under the great marble-stone in the nave of this church, where is the above said inscription, above which are their pourtraictures in brasse, and an escutcheon now illegible. Beneath this inscription are the small figures of nine young children in brasse. This Mr. Bonham's wife had two children at one birth, the first time; and he being troubled at it travelled, and was absent seven years. After his returne she was delivered of seven children at one birth. In this parish is a confident tradition that these seven children were all baptized at the font in this church, and that they were brought thither in a kind of chardger, which was dedicated to this church, and hung on two nailes, which are to be seen there yet, near the bellfree on the south side. Some old men are yet living that doe remember the chardger. This tradition is entered into the register booke there, from whence I have taken this narrative (1659).' [See the extract from the register, which is signed by "Roger Powell, curate there," in Hoare's *Modern Wilts*, (Hundred of Branch and Dole) p. 49.—J.B.]

III. Note of James Goulden, schoolmaster of Wishford, in 1828:—

'Three old persons of the parish of Wishford, viz., Mary Lewis, Giles Munday, and Mary Woodlands, declared to J. Goulden that they had seen the sieve hung up in the church.'

There is reason to suppose that the two nails (the last relic of this dedicated sieve,) were removed at the churchwarden's repairs of the church in 1829.

EDWARD HILL.

May 31st, 1875."

General Meeting and Report for 1875.

THE General Annual Meeting of the Society, for the purpose of receiving the report, the election of officers, and other necessary business, took place at the Society's Premises, in Devizes, on Thursday, September 30th.

The Rev. W. C. PLENDERLEATH occupied the chair, and called on the Rev. A. C. SMITH to read the

REPORT FOR 1875.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society desires to put before the members of the Society very briefly a report of last year's proceedings, and of its present position.

"Within the last twelvemonths we have lost three original members of the Society, viz., Mr. Hulbert, of Devizes; the Rev. E. Strickland, of Brixton Deverill; and Mr. Heneage, late member for Devizes. We have to deplore other losses through death, withdrawal, or removal from the county, amongst these was Mr. Long, our very hospitable entertainer in 1872, at Rood Ashton; but the enrolment of fresh names on our books leaves our numbers very nearly the same as last year. Our total now amounts to 340.

"In regard to finance, the fitting and furnishing of our new Museum and Library have absorbed not only all the funds contributed for that object, but also all the available capital we had in hand; while our current income remains to cover the regular outlay of the Society. Thus it will be seen that while we are not in debt, we have no balance in hand; and (unless further contributions are sent in) we must confine ourselves for the present within the limits of our ordinary expenditure.

"But if we have spent our capital, your Committee submits to you that it has been well spent for the interests of the Society; and that we have now a Museum and Library of no small value; while additions to both the archæological and natural history collections, as well as donations of books, are becoming far more frequent, now that we have secured a permanent place of deposit.

"Of the Magazine, two numbers have been already published this year, while a third is in progress, and will be in the hands of members before the expiration of 1875. This will complete the fifteenth volume.

"In regard to the General Annual Meeting; it was felt that the Session of the British Association at Bristol, and the popular excursions therefrom both to North and South Wilts (viz., to Bowood and Avebury in the north, and to Salisbury and Stonehenge in the south), would materially diminish our chance of a successful gathering this year, and that it was wise to abandon it.

"The Committee desires to conclude the report by again thanking the contributors who have enriched the pages of the Magazine, as well as all who have aided by donations of money or specimens or

books to our Museum and Library; and would once more commend its objects to the county at large, trusting more and more to attract the co-operation, the sympathy, and the support of all who desire to elucidate the history, past and present, of Wiltshire."

On the motion of T. B. FLOWER, Esq., seconded by Dr. BURMAN, the report was approved and adopted.

The present officers of the Society were then re-elected, with the following additions:—to the Vice-Presidents of the Society: Rev. Canon Jackson, F.S.A., Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., Sir John Neeld, Bart., Charles Penruddocke, Esq., W. H. Poynder, Esq. To the General Secretaries: C. H.Talbot, Esq. And to be Honorary Curators of the Museum, Rev. H. A. Olivier, and Henry Cunnington, Esq.

The proceedings were entirely of a formal character, and as soon as the business was completed, the meeting was dissolved.

Donations to the Museum and Library.

The Council have much pleasure in acknowledging, with thanks, the following donations to the Museum and Library:—

By Mr. FLOWER, *Bath*:—Two Copper Coins.

By the Rev. E. PEACOCK:—Sixty-one Coins (mostly tokens).

By E. C. LOWNDES, Esq.;—Specimens of Wiltshire Fossils.

By Mr. W. CUNNINGTON, *London*:—A Collection of Fossil Mammalian Bones found in Wiltshire, consisting of femur, and other bones, of Elephas primigenius, bones of Bison, Rhinoceros, and Bos primigenius.

The following have also been received:—No. 1 Bulletin of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey. Synopsis of the Flora of Colorado. Nos. 21 and 22 Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland. Eighth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum. Guide to Belfast. Proceedings of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. Part 4, vol vi., of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

END OF VOL. XV.

H. F. & E. BULL, Printers and Publishers, Saint John Street, Devizes.

Museum and Library.

The following Subscriptions have been received or promised for the objects named on the cover. Further Contributions are earnestly solicited.

	£	s.	d.
The Most Honourable the Marquis of Lansdowne	10	0	0
G. Goldney, Esq., M.P.	10	0	0
H. A. Merewether, Esq.	15	0	0
Sir J. Neeld, Bart.	5	0	0
Right Honourable E. P. Bouverie ...	5	0	0
G. Morrison, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss M. Ewart	5	0	0
E. C. Lowndes, Esq.	3	3	0
Rev. Canon Jackson	3	3	0
W. Long, Esq.	2	2	0
Mrs. Colston	2	0	0
R. Holford, Esq.	2	0	0
Rev. W. C. Plenderleath	1	1	0
H. E. Medlicott, Esq....	1	1	0
Venerable Archdeacon Buchanan ...	1	1	0
Rev. J. F. Ravenshaw	1	1	0
H. M. Clarke, Esq.	1	0	0
W. Cunnington, Esq.	3	0	0
Mrs. Salmon	2	2	0
Rev. H. Olivier	2	0	0
Mr. H. Cunnington	2	0	0
W. Brown, Esq.	1	1	0
Mr. C. N. May	1	1	0
Mr. J. Brown	1	1	0
F. A. S. Locke, Esq.	1	0	0
Mr. R. Coward	0	10	0

Museum and Library.

A Collection of British Birds, comprising a very fine pair of Bustards, has been placed in the Museum at Devizes, and may become the property of the Society.

A glass case with specimens may be obtained for the Natural History Room, where it is much needed.

Some outlay is also advisable in order to increase the utility of the Library.

Subscriptions are solicited for these objects, which will be received by the Curators, or at Messrs. Locke & Co.'s Bank, *Devizes*.

AGENTS

FOR THE SALE OF THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

Bath ..... R. E. Peach, Bridge Street.
Bristol ..... T. Kerslake & Co., 18, Queen's Road.
Bradford-on-Avon. J. Day, Old Market Place.
Chippenham ..... J. J. Foster, High Street.
Devizes ..... H. F. & E. Bull, St. John Street.
Marlborough ..... Lucy & Co., High Street.
Melksham ..... A. Cochrane, Bank Street.
Oxford ..... Jas. Parker & Co., Broad St.
Salisbury ..... Brown & Co., Canal.
Warminster ..... B. W. Coates, Market Place.

Regulations of Admission to Museum & Library.

The Museum and Library are open on week days; from Ten to Five, from 1st April to 30th September, inclusive; and from Ten to Four, from 1st October to 31st March, inclusive.

Members of the Society are admitted free to both the Museum and Library at all times when open; and have the privilege of personally introducing to the Museum, without payment, any members of their families residing with them.

Persons who are not Members are admitted to the Museum on payment of sixpence each; or by tickets, which may be obtained from the attendant, in packets of ten at half-a-crown the packet.

All visitors, whether Members or otherwise, to write their names in the book kept for the purpose.

H. F. & E. BULL, PRINTERS, DEVIZES.